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THE LIFE
OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

CHAPTER LXVI.

IF General Kleber had denounced Bonaparte as a traitor for deserting his army in Egypt, the circumstances in which he was left might have been a sufficient justification. The army, greatly in arrears, badly clothed, and with scarcely one cheering prospect before them, his situation was not very enviable, but with a spirit characteristic of the true soldier he consulted his own honour by obeying the orders he had received rather than be biassed by his own feelings, and though irritated at the perfidy of Napoleon, the following generous and manly address to his army evinces true military honour :

KLEBER, *Commander in Chief, to the Army.*

“ Head Quarters, Cairo, August 31, 1799.

“ SOLDIERS !

“ Motives of the most imperious nature have determined the Commander in Chief, Bonaparte, to return to France.

“ The dangers incident to a voyage undertaken in no very favourable part of the year, on a narrow sea, co-

 Kleber's address to the Army.

“ vered with the enemies' fleets, were too feeble to arrest
 “ him. Your happiness was at stake !

“ Soldiers! a powerful reinforcement, or a glorious
 “ peace is at hand ; a peace, worthy of you and of your
 “ achievements, is on the point of restoring you to your
 “ country.

“ In taking upon myself the charge with which Bona-
 “ parte was entrusted, I was neither unaware of its impor-
 “ tance, nor of the toil and danger attending it ; but, on
 “ the other hand, when I considered your gallantry, so
 “ often crowned with the most brilliant success, your
 “ unwearied patience in braving every calamity, and
 “ supporting every privation ; when I considered, in
 “ short, all that might be done or attempted with such
 “ soldiers, I lost sight of every thing but the advantage
 “ of being at your head, and the honour of commanding
 “ you ; and I felt myself inspired with new vigour.

“ Soldiers ! rely upon what I say ; your urgent wants
 “ shall be the never-ceasing object of my most earnest
 “ solicitude.”

(Signed) KLEBER.”

By order of the Commander in Chief, the General
 of Division, and Chief of the staff.

(Signed) DAMAS.

A true copy. (Signed) DUMAS, Adjutant-general.

A true copy. LE ROY.

General Kleber, it appears, opened a negociation with
 the Grand Vizier, upon the basis of Bonaparte's Letter,
 which it is needless to insert, as it was merely a re-
 petition of professions of friendship for the Porte, which
 he had before speculated upon. The preparations that
 the Turks were making to attack the army at all points,

State of Egypt and the French Army.

occupied so much time, that the French officers could take an accurate survey of their situation in Egypt. Not one of them, whose private letters have been published, were satisfied with the conduct of Bonaparte; and, in general, they evince a strong suspicion of its being his design to impose at once upon the government and the army. Of the officers alluded to, none were personally the enemies of our Hero, and they were all attached to him at the time of his quitting France; the testimony of those officers ought to be looked on as fair evidence in the concerns of Egypt, though not favourable to Bonaparte; but as the occupation of that colony essentially forms a conspicuous feature in his life, every particular should be collected from the most authentic source; we shall, therefore, make an extract from a letter of Citizen Poussielgue, who possessed the confidence of the General.

This letter was addressed to the Executive Directory, and dated from Cairo. He begins by saying, that since the army arrived in Egypt he has been exclusively charged with the administration of the finances and the political economy of the country; and that he owes them a faithful representation of what he has collected—that the reports of travellers were so exaggerated about the country, that a residence of fifteen months, with every assistance, has not wholly effaced the false impressions they gave—that the revenues in time of peace can only be reckoned at 19,000,000 livres, but that with great care they might be raised to 20,000,000; but that in war they do not exceed 12 or 13,000,000—that abundance in Egypt depends on the Nile; the canals must be cleaned out, the dikes repaired, and none cut sooner or later than the common interest requires. When the Nile is good, much land remains uncultivated for want of

cutting the dykes; but when it is bad, the loss is greater than it ought to be, because the villages all being afraid of wanting water, those bordering on the river hasten, prematurely, to cut the dykes, and much water is lost without advantage. The peasant pays a fixed rent, in money or kind, to the proprietor; it may be divided into three heads, the *Miri*, a ground rent to the Grand Seignior—an *Effendi* collects it—it amounts to about 3,000,000 livres. The second is called *Fais*, a quit-rent, amounting to about the same sum. The third is called *Barani*, which produces from all the landed property of Egypt 6,400,000 livres. The sum total raised in Egypt (laying aside the immense peculations of the Copts, who collect them) is pretty near to 14,000,000. From this deduct 3,200,000 livres for lands which do not belong to Government, and there will remain 10,800,000. To this must be added what is paid in kind in Upper Egypt, and it will amount to 3,500,000 livres; the revenues of the Government in time of peace will be 19,200,000 livres; but in war, customs and indirect revenues are not more than 15,000,000. The grain of Upper Egypt will not produce more than a million; a number of charges they have been forced to continue must be deducted, the expenses of the caravan to Mecca, the Divan of the provinces, and the Janissaries of the country; these take off nearly 3,000,000 livres.

Expedients are worn out—no more contributions can be looked for, where trade has been at an end for nineteen months—the Turks will not shew their money, nay, they will suffer any thing sooner than disclose where they have hid it.

The peasantry never pay but when they are forced to do so—they hide all they are worth in the ground

State of Egypt and the French Army.

—they wait for a column of troops, and when they see them coming they fly with their wives, children, and cattle, and leave their hovels empty—they often give battle, and scouts give notice of the approach of troops. Sometimes the chiefs of the village are thrown into prison, and kept till what is due is paid; but this does not always succeed—they suffer their camels, buffaloes, and sheep to be sold, and trust to fate for their subsistence. A column of about 100 men must therefore be maintained in each of the sixteen provinces of Egypt, to force the villagers to pay the taxes—the soldiers often return with a trifle. During the eight months when the country is not inundated, the Arabs undertake their predatory excursions, and they are threatened with attacks—and a column of troops has scarcely moved forward before it must fall back to punish the villages, or the Mamelukes and Arabs. The villages must be compelled even to pay the corn due, then taken to the Nile, embarked, and sent down to Cairo.

The greatest difficulty is in getting boats, and the short time they can be made use of when the Nile is navigable—that a great number of boats had been destroyed for fuel, and cannot be replaced—that Cairo is in want of corn, though they have so much in Upper Egypt, and they were obliged to buy that article for the use of the troops—that specie has entirely disappeared, nothing to be seen but *medins*, a copper coin about the value of an English halfpenny, which passes with great rapidity—that the Spanish dollars, which were plenty, are taken off and sent to the mint at Yemen, and that every article has risen in consequence. The quantity of the productions of Egypt, from a cessation of all foreign trade, will eventually ruin

the country ; for the inhabitants cannot find a market for their produce. The military chest is always empty, and they cannot hope to receive more than 2 or 300,000 livres a month, though their expenses are more than 1,300,000.

The natives, he says, are a mild people, but cannot be trusted, and they do not love the French—the difference of language, religion, and manners, form obstacles to any thing like sincere affection—they hate the Mamelukes, and dread the yoke of Constantinople, but never can endure that of the French, but, in the hope of shaking them off, they perhaps might prefer them to any other Christian nation—that they had succeeded in keeping a good intelligence with the Cheriff of Mecca, but he fancies he has gone over to the English, who have a force in the Red Sea—that the Mamelukes, though dispersed, are still in existence, and can always reunite easily ; the Arabs are not at all diminished, and hate the French most cordially ; and their wandering mode of life renders us no objects of apprehension to them—that when the French first landed, the Egyptians believed, as the French told them, that they came with the consent of the Grand Seignior, and submitted ; but now they are convinced to the contrary, and think themselves authorised to betray them ; and they leaped with joy when the landing took place at Aboukir.

If the enemy loses an army he raises another immediately, and is ready to be beaten again ; but every victory carries off some of the best of the French troops, whose loss cannot be repaired—that, reduced as they are, they cannot bring into the field more than 11,000 men ; with this handful they have to cover 500 leagues of country, overawe 3,000,000 of people, who may be con-

State of Egypt and the French Army.

sidered as so many enemies, and garrison all the holds and fortresses; and if the Grand Vizier attacks them, they cannot oppose him with more than 5 or 6000 men—that the plague will make its appearance in three months, and this dismays the stoutest—that the Nile has been very bad, and no contributions can be drawn from the villages, which have had no water, and that misery threatens them frightfully—that all ranks are eager to return to France, convinced they are only sacrificing themselves in Egypt without benefit to their country—the army saw General Kleber at their head with pleasure; that he is full of honour and of noble pride, and feels the difficulty of the task thus left him—that Egypt is a very fine country, and if they were peaceable masters of it, they might remove the plague and the Arabs, and restore it to its ancient splendour; but that as it is bounded by the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, there wants a powerful navy to protect its commerce; the French is without one, and it will be long before they can create one able to contend with their enemies—that it is folly to think of preserving Egypt without the means of assuring the safety of their convoys; they might indeed still maintain themselves by permission of the Porte; but that if she were, contrary to all appearances, so disposed, the English would never permit it. The battle of Aboukir ruined all their hopes; it rendered all their plans abortive, as they could give the English no uneasiness in India; and the people of Egypt became their enemies, and they were engaged in a difficult defensive war—that as their plans have failed to affect the English, they cannot have any pretence for keeping Egypt—the only thing that could enable them to preserve it, would be war between Russia and the Porte; the forces marching

State of Egypt and the French Army.

against the French would fly to protect the centre of the empire. In that case the Grand Seignior would grant them peace on any terms they might ask. The Ottoman empire is looked on as falling to its ruins, and the European powers have long been preparing to divide its fragments—politicians think that France should have her share, and that is Egypt—should this fall take place, France will always be in time to have Egypt, as the Turks will invite them sooner than the Russians, whom they mortally hate—that they must infallibly evacuate Egypt, establishing a peace with the Ottomans and states of Barbary—their views on Egypt depend on General Kleber's deferring the evacuation as long as possible, by delaying the negociation, if they are permitted to negotiate; and if it should take place without their orders, it will only be because it was inevitable, and called for by prudence.

It must be acknowledged that the condition of the army was wholly hopeless, and that the artificial courage raised by the delusive promises of Bonaparte, was now changed into desperation. Apprehensions were never better founded than those here expressed; for not only were the mouths of the Nile all in danger of being blocked up by the Anglo-Turks, but the Pachas of the Desert were to attack Cossier on the Red Sea, and Murad Bey was collecting the Mamelukes near Sifut. Desaix was constantly on the alert in Upper Egypt; and though in every skirmish he gained the advantage, he could not assist either the posts on the frontiers of the Desert or those of the Delta. Negociation was the principal business to attend to, and the English Commander having arrived off Damietta with a large naval force, General

Treaty between the English and French in Egypt.

Kleber accepted an invitation from him to treat for the evacuation of Egypt.

Sir Sidney Smith informed Kleber, that Great Britain was a party in the question discussed in Bonaparte's letter. From the alliance between the Sublime Porte and Great Britain, Sir Sidney declared, that although the evacuation of Egypt might be agreed to by the Court of Constantinople, it required the consent of the British Cabinet before it could be carried into effect. Kleber desired the Grand Vizier to name two persons to meet Desaix and Poussielgue, whom he would send to any place that might be appointed; and that if the Commodore's ship should be named, he had no objections. The conferences were held on board the *Tigre*, and great ingenuity was displayed by the French negociators to gain better terms than their situation entitled them to. The Ottoman army laid siege to El-Arish, and took it after a slight resistance; there the treaty was concluded and ratified between Sir Sidney and General Kleber, on the 24th of January 1800. The conditions were principally, that the French should evacuate Egypt within three months, and proceed to France, with all their arms and baggage, and that the Turks should provide them with money during their stay in Egypt, and during their voyage home.

It may appear extraordinary, that when it was supposed the British Government kept all the ports of Egypt closely blockaded, Bonaparte should have ventured upon so dangerous a voyage. It is much more surprising to find, that in such a look-out, he could put to sea unobserved, and traverse the Mediterranean without being met by one single vessel belonging to a nation, which spent that year an immense sum to purchase the

Bonaparte arrives in France.

dominion of the ocean. They charged the British Admiralty with negligence on account of this escape, but Bonaparte himself attributes it to his good fortune.

It is only said, that he sometimes played and laughed with his companions, and amused himself with geometry and chemistry on board ship. On arriving off the coast of Corsica a storm forced the vessel to enter Ajaccio, his native town, where the reception he met was precisely what the eclat of his victories was calculated to procure. At Corsica he heard of the calamities that France had suffered, and set sail for the French coast, of which he was within sight when some English ships were discovered. The topmasts were lowered to escape observation, and they proposed to return to Corsica; but Bonaparte insisted upon making for the coast of Provence, where he arrived in the midst of an astonishing multitude, who were only convinced of the reality when they beheld him in the bosom of their encircling crowds. When the Directory were informed that he had landed at Frejus from Egypt, they communicated the General's arrival to the two Councils, who received the message with cries of *Vive la Republique!* He remained at Frejus only one hour, for a carriage to take him to Paris, and he arrived at the capital on the 16th of October, hailed during his journey with the cry of Peace! Peace! as if the nation longed for that blessing only.

The English were not more successful in destroying the Egyptian expedition than in securing the grand object of French envy, under the influence of which it had been undertaken. The British army in the East Indies overturned the throne of Tippoo, slew him in the midst of his capital, and exercised as victors the rights of conquest. A proclamation was issued by the British

Capture of Seringapatam by the British.

Commander from Seringapatam, stating that the late Sultan had admitted a French force into his army, to commence war against the East India Company and its allies; and finally decreed, that much of his immense territories should be for ever incorporated with the dominions of the East India Company and its allies; and that a separate government should be established in Mysore, under a descendant of the ancient Rajahs.

The English East India Company acquired a vast accession of territorial strength, by the overthrow of one of the most restless Princes they had ever contended with. Streams of wealth flowed into the Company's coffers, and their army shared a liberal portion of the deceased Prince's treasure.

The East India Company stand perfectly justified. The proofs of Tippoo's treachery were numerous, and his overthrow was sudden; for, although he planned an attack upon the English, he did not think they were acquainted with his design. Being taken by surprise, and the troops which he had secretly stipulated for from the French, not having arrived, Seringapatam was carried by storm, and his treachery was punished by the loss of his life.

It is to be regretted, that nations, like individuals, assume a haughty carriage whenever fortune prospers their endeavours: an instance of this kind took place in the conduct of Great Britain towards the free, but feeble city of Hamburgh, whose territory it violated through Sir James Crawford, its minister. It has been related, that Napper Tandy, with General Rey, and some troops, attempted to land on the North of Ireland, but put to sea on learning the issue of the rebellion. The vessel in which they were, was driven on the coast of Norway; where, apprehending they should fall in with some Eng-

Napper Tandy arrested at Hamburgh.

lish cruisers, they resolved to proceed to France by land. Intelligence of their route being received at Hamburgh, soon after they had arrived there, Sir James Crawford applied to arrest them, as subjects of England: it was granted, and Napper Tandy and his associates were apprehended, put in irons, and confined in separate guard-houses. The French Minister claimed the prisoners as citizens of the French Republic, and threatened to leave Hamburgh if they were not directly released, and Sir James demanded they should be detained. The Senate, alarmed by the tone of both ministers, deliberated on the means of conciliating each, after the steps that had been taken by the magistrates. The prisoners were unironed, and it was agreed to by citizen Marragon, that they should be sent to England, on condition that only the formality of a trial should be adopted. The prisoners were put on board the *Xenophon* frigate at Hamburgh, which sailed for Cuxhaven and arrived in Ireland. The city of Hamburgh was much alarmed by the threats of the French resident, and the citizens disapproved the measure, as it might subject them to the displeasure of the French Government. We cannot view this transaction without tracing marks of weakness in the French Government.

The Americans had engaged in the various commercial speculations, which were left open to competition: This spirit led them beyond the limits of fair and legitimate commerce, and exposed them to the censure of the contending powers. The murmurs were so loudly expressed, that General Washington, President of the United States, in a speech to Congress, on the 3d of December in that year, prepared the public mind for any discussion that might consequently arise.

Treaty between America and England.

The belligerent powers acted upon the principle of the war of 1756, that is, they seized, captured, and confiscated the property of the enemy, wherever they found it. The British were entire masters of the seas, and to them the contraband trade was principally injurious. Against that power a cry was raised in America, and the French faction kept up a clamour against the oppression and tyranny that subjected neutrals to search and detention.

The spirit of America assumed such a form, that it was necessary to adjust the disputes between the government of the United States and that of Great Britain; and the result was, that a treaty was concluded between the two powers on the 19th of November 1794. The negotiators on both sides entered into a compromise for the sake of peace, but the advantage was on the side of America; for whilst America consented that the belligerent power should retain the right of search, Great Britain agreed that “The merchandize of the countries at war, which should have been acquired by the subjects of the neutral power, should be carried in neutral vessels.”

This was abandoning the rule of the war of 1756, and enabling every American, for a few shillings-worth of perjury, to transport a cargo of French, Spanish, or Dutch property from sea to sea as his own.

The minister of France (Genet) distributed inflammatory writings, and was followed by his agents, after the American Government had insisted upon his recal.

In the session of 1794-5, the president, Washington, detailed the particulars of an insurrection, that had taken place; which, shews the character of the Government of

General Washington's speech to Congress.

the time, and throws much light upon some future transactions.

He states in his speech to Congress, that in the year 1790, it was necessary to make use of the power granted by the constitution to "lay and collect excises." No sort of objection was made in the states, but in the four western counties of Pennsylvania some symptoms of riot and violence appeared. Congress immediately paid attention to the complaints made, and wished to relieve them; but then mildness was looked on as fear, and associations were formed against the officers employed; further delay was thought impolitic, and legal process was delivered to the marshal against the rioters. The marshal was fired upon, arrested, and kept a prisoner; the house of the inspector was attacked, his papers seized, and his house set on fire and burned. Both these officers fled to the seat of Government, it being acknowledged that they wanted to compel the resignation of the inspector, and extort a repeal of the laws of excise, and a change in the conduct of Government. On being informed by a justice of the Supreme Court that the laws were opposed very powerfully, he considered what should be done: he hesitated to call out the militia, but required them to be held in readiness. Commissioners were sent to the disaffected to represent that if they did not submit, coercion must be resorted to; that, however, not seeming to subscribe to the mild form of atonement, he was compelled to order the militia to march, 15,000 of whom he put in motion, thinking that a sufficient force to answer every purpose; and as every appearance shows a favourable issue, he returns to the seat of government, to his duties: he recommends that an indem-

Firm conduct of the President.

nification be granted to those officers of the United States who have suffered ; that the amount will not be great and the example will be striking.

This insurrection was quelled on the first appearance of the troops, but the spirit of it remained unbroken, and the partisans of France endeavoured all they could to overthrow the government. The president did not announce the result of the treaty of amity, &c. till a year after it was signed, and the French Government, in the mean time, used every means of annoying the American commerce.

The violent party declaimed on the bad consequences that might result from the treaty, and a resolution passed the house, to demand a copy of the instructions given to Mr. Jay, who negociated the treaty ; to this, General Washington replied, that he has considered their resolution, demanding the instructions to the minister, with other documents relative to the treaty with Great Britain ; that the nature of foreign negociations requires caution and secrecy, and even when concluded a full disclosure might have a bad effect ; and to admit a right to demand such papers, would establish a dangerous precedent ; but that he has no disposition to withhold any information which the public good requires, but that, every circumstance considered, he cannot comply with their request.

Though the firm conduct of the president encouraged the friends of Government, it did not weaken the opposition ; and both Congress and the House of Representatives refused to ratify the treaty, or carry it into effect ; all was confusion and alarm ; trade was at a stand, and a war with England was dreaded ; and none of the ships wanting to put to sea could be insured. These troubles

General Washington resigns the Presidency.

were encouraged by numbers of strangers full of French principles, who, dissatisfied with their own countries, had fled for refuge to America, where they found as much fault as they had done at home; these, under French emissaries, strove to effect a rupture with England; the mercantile interest at length prevailed, and the advocates for peace got the ratification effected, though by a small majority.

General Washington's resignation, after being twice president of the Republic, is a strong instance of loyalty and virtue; this event is accounted for in the most handsome manner in his declaration to his fellow citizens.

The period, he says, having arrived for the election of a citizen to administer the Executive Government of the United States, and as their minds must be occupied with that, he thinks it time to inform them of his declining to be again chosen, assuring them that he is influenced by no diminution of zeal in their service or interest, but his wish to enjoy retirement from which he had been reluctantly withdrawn, and that he meant to have so stated to them when he was last elected, but was over-ruled by advice of those entitled to his confidence; and he hopes they will not disapprove of his determination to retire; he expresses his gratitude to his country for the many honours it has conferred on him, and the confidence with which it supported him, which he has endeavoured to repay by services faithful and persevering: if the country has derived benefits from these services, the praise is due to them, whose support was the prop of the plans by which they were effected: he impresses on their minds the great regard they should ever possess for their national union; that they should cherish it as the palladium of their safety and prosperity, indignantly frowning

The American Envoys urged to make a Loan.

The American Ministers state that they were waited upon by M. X. who told them of the peace with the Emperor, and that some proposals had been expected from them on the subject of their former conversation; that the Directory were impatient, and would take a decided course with regard to America if not softened; and that the peace with the Emperor might make a change in the American system. To this they replied, that it had been expected by them, and would not at all affect their conduct. He urged the danger of their situation, and pressed the policy of softening them, and obtaining time; they might probably not be long in office, and it would be unfortunate if those who succeeded them should find the two nations at war. To this they replied, that a state of war would be preferable to what they now endured; their commerce was plundered and unprotected; but if war was declared, they would endeavour to protect it. He returned again to the subject of money, and told them it was expected they would offer some; they answered no, not a sixpence: he proceeded to press the matter very perseveringly; that they paid money for peace with the Algerines and Indians, and asked if it was not known that nothing could be had in France without money, as there was not an American in Paris that could not have given that information. Every art was made use of to induce the envoys to consent to a loan to France; this, they said, they would send one of their members over to state it to the American Government, provided the other affairs were in the mean time carried on. Talleyrand strenuously urged the ministers to conclude a loan, and that it could be settled without sending to America, and dwelt upon it with much energy; however, nothing was determined on. Mr. Gerry, who

The Americans dissatisfied at the Treatment of their Envoys.

had the interview with him, immediately went to his quarters and put in writing the conversation which had taken place.

The system of chicanery the ministers suffered was immense, till at last they would hear no more. Messrs. Pickering and Marshall would not remain in France after the treatment they had experienced for four months, and returned to America. Mr. Gerry waited orders from Government, and was recalled after being laid open to be duped by Talleyrand's professions of esteem.

A universal uproar happened in America when the ambassadors' report was laid before the Government, and preparations were made for war; the French party, however, threw obstacles in the way, and persuaded the people that the Directory were anxious for peace.

This was a strong instance of a foreign power directing the affairs of a state against its own Government; the honour of the country and the stability of the Government demanded that the insults offered to the ministers should be punished, but an attachment to peace took away the people's senses. Yet a posture of defence was taken. General Washington was to command the army, and a naval force was ordered to protect their trade; there was acrimony enough between the two governments, but they were at a great distance from each other, and the matter ended in a war of words.

Paris was the centre of intrigues, and the features of republican justice sunk into smiles of favouritism. Monsieur Talleyrand Perigord, ex-bishop of Autun, shewed a strong desire to re-establish priestly government, and attached to him a private synod of his former friends, who shewed a willingness to pay the services he was to do them, by a discreet use of Solomon's proverb

Disturbances at La Vendée.

—“Money answereth all things.” The emigrant priests and nobles who had sued to return to their country, found the way smoothed by the cupidity of the minister and his speculating masters. The sufferings these persons had borne, reduced many of them to very low circumstances, and though numbers received trifling pensions from the governments where they had sought refuge, they wished to return home upon any terms. Numbers took measures for turning the vices of the government to their own account, and the proper application of money erased their names from the lists of emigrants.

The Royal Family augured well for their cause by these events, but displayed little judgment in this instance. It was a natural love of self, that induced these emigrants to seek for rest in the bosom of their country; and it was not natural that they would again expose themselves in a hopeless adventure; yet the princes of that family and their friends, constantly dreamed of counter-revolutions by means of these emigrants. The crimes of the governments, it was said, gave them opportunities of bringing proofs of its wickedness to the people; but it was forgotten that each emigrant was interested in concealing them, as their exposure would destroy the validity of his passport.

Another mistaken policy more fatal to the Bourbons, made their cause hopeless, which was, a resolution maintained by them to restore all lands to their true owners. A more impolitic thing could not have been thought on, as it united all interests against the restoration, and limited their means to conquest, which had so often failed. Disturbances continued in the Western departments, and two celebrated chiefs, Frotté and Georges, kept a strong army of Royalists together, who fought in the name of

Union with Great Britain and Ireland.

Louis XVIII. This prince was in Russia; his brother, the Count Artois, and some other princes were in Great Britain, and some of the family in Germany, so that they did not retain the semblance of a court. The Allies thought not of them in their treaties for peace, and the war, which was said to be undertaken for their interest, shewed that the Combined Powers used them as a mere stalking horse, without meaning to secure for them any indemnification whatever.

The parties who had began the war, had seen the objects for which it was undertaken. The Bourbons were subjects in foreign countries, instead of keeping an unlimited despotism in their family; the Allies were satisfied to act upon the defensive, and thought themselves more than happy if they could secure their own dominions; and the French, in place of giving to the states they had attacked, increased the arbitrary power of those governments, and exchanged the spirit of liberty which they once possessed, for a tyranny the most offensive. The Directory kept up the threats of invasion against England, and the attention of that power was occupied in strengthening itself. The English Government used its endeavours to unite Great Britain and Ireland.

This was effected by Mr. Pitt, and we are happy to acknowledge its merits. It must not, however, be imagined, that the good citizens of London or Dublin allowed it to pass without opposition. Such was the spirit in those times, that great numbers of people acquired the title of patriots, because they quarrelled with whatever the minister did, right or wrong. The people of Ireland were told, that if their members met at London, they would be ruined. They had, it was allowed,

Union of England with Ireland.

suffered all the horrors of discord, but these horrors were their own; they would, if the Union took place, have to charge their misfortunes upon a parliament in another country; and, after such indelible disgrace, they might bid farewell to independence. This was the catch word, and it flew round Ireland, from borough to borough; and all the independent members, and all the freemen who sold seats in Parliament, exclaimed, that the liberties of Ireland were in danger.

Much credit was given to Lord Castlereagh, who was the principal in this intrigue, for the cleverness with which he smoothed the difficulties; but those praises were ill bestowed; the noble Lord wanted no superior talent. The parliamentary leaders of Ireland found that they could do better if they threw difficulties in the way of the minister, than if they acknowledged the propriety of the measure; and they clamoured against it as injurious to their country. The Lord of the intrigue had no more to do, but to make the best bargain, and, accordingly, when he had scattered a sufficiency of pensions and reversions amongst them, they shed their love of Ireland, and agreed to vote for the Union, as the only means of saving the empire!

The pressure of the war and the demand for money was so great in England, that the capitalists hardly knew how to ask enough for the loan of their wealth. The interest of money became so high, that the nation could at one time only get 47*l.* sterling for 100*l.* stock, thus making itself liable to pay upwards of 40*s.* in the pound for the principal, besides upwards of six per cent. for its hire! The bad consequences of this were so obvious, that Mr. Pitt resolved to raise part of the supplies by taxes, instead of loans. In finance this was prudence,

Bonaparte's Behaviour to the Austrian Hostages.

but it brought a pressure upon the people, and reduced them to great distress. It raised the price of every thing beyond their usual rate, and excited a belief that they would rise much higher; this induced numbers to lay out all they could muster in the purchase of corn, and promoted the high prices, which would not have existed but for its own efforts. Paper currency was created to an enormous amount, and accommodation bills passed with all the value of sterling gold, and the storers of corn kept their stocks from market without the least inconvenience. Provisions of all kinds, became excessively dear, and the Government found it very difficult to suppress the warmth of the people.

The French Government had a decided superiority over its antagonists, for it made the burden of the war fall upon other countries, a sum of 143,000,000*l.* British sterling, being levied by its armies on the different states of Europe which it had subjugated, the empire of Austria alone paying them at two periods near 75,000,000*l.* British sterling.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

It is said, in proof of the liberality of Bonaparte, that when the preliminaries of Leoben were signed, the Emperor sent three of the nobility as hostages, and that Bonaparte having invited them to dine with him, told them "Gentlemen, you are free—tell your master that if his Impe-

Bonaparte leaves Italy.

rial word requires a pledge, you cannot serve as such; and if it requires none, that you ought not."

His impatience of controul was frequently shewn during the period he held his appointment of the Directory. When he began the negociations concluded by the peace of Leoben, he meant not to return to Paris till he could appear as a conqueror and a pacificator. He remained at the castle of Passeriano, near Udina, till the treaty was signed. He had often been recalled by the Directory, but neglected to notice their orders, and shewed a hauteur which did not correspond with his former apparent modesty; he would accept no generals into his army he did not approve, and sent home only so much of the contributions levied in Italy as he thought proper.

Pending the negociations at Leoben his hasty temper often shewed itself. He was treated with the greatest respect by the plenipotentiaries, but was often so much annoyed by German forms, that he behaved to them very cavalierly: seeing the first article contain an acknowledgment of the French Republic, he exclaimed with heat, "The French Republic is like the sun in the firmament, and blind are they who do not acknowledge its splendour." The article was erased.

Bonaparte left Italy with a very plain equipage of a private gentleman, his only attendants were two generals, two aids-du-camp, and a physician. He dined at Geneva with the French resident, and as he was expected horses were waiting for him on the road, and the people assembled in crowds to see him. He was received with great honours at Mendon; his carriage broke down on the road, and he walked a few miles; a person who saw him observes, that he appeared always to be talking to those

Bonaparte opens the Congress at Rastadt.

about him as if his mind was otherways employed ; he seemed to have an air of great meditation, and to be full of deep thought ; a spectator remarked how small a figure for so great a man ; some person replied he was the exact size of Alexander, which was not the only likeness ; he supped near Berne with those who out of respect had accompanied him ; he stopped some time at Basle ; at Lausanne a fête was prepared for him, but he did not seem to enjoy it, he spoke but little, and seemed to think that his words would be noted.

Near the village of Faubrorm he walked to the inn humming a French air ; he asked the landlord if he paid much taxes ; the man replied he hardly knew them even by name ; that he had about fifty pounds a year of land, and paid tithes and quit-rent, which was about as much as the yearly wages of a labourer, but that he reckons that in the working of his farm. Bonaparte asked him if the Government raised no tax upon the land, and was astonished when the man answered none ; and, turning to an officer who was with him, exclaimed, “ these are the happiest people in the world.”

Having passed through Switzerland he stopped at Rastadt, opened the Congress, and went on his journey. In the little time he staid there Count Ferzen, the envoy of Sweden, remarkable for his hatred to the revolution, was introduced to him ; he was received coolly, but civilly, and Bonaparte asked him what minister of Sweden was at Paris ? The Count, hesitating, answered none ; on which Bonaparte expressed his surprise, that the King of Sweden should send any envoy so disagreeable to the French nation ; and remarked that the King would be much offended if a French minister was sent to

Grand Fête at the Luxembourg.

Stockholm, who would encourage the people to revolt. The Count retired much confused, saying, he would report the conversation to his Majesty.

When he arrived at Paris, he avoided every chance of being noticed; he lived very retired, and saw little company; and never went out but in a plain carriage and pair; he was only twice at public meetings; he seemed to despise popular applause, and avoided giving offence to the Directory, who had named him commander in chief of the army of England.

He seems to have wished to gain popularity, by appearing to avoid it, and by his aversion to the Jacobins. Wherever he could he has strove to suppress freedom of sentiment; all the new constitutions of Italy were his own; he appointed the first public officers, and had all the popular societies of Milan closed. He looked on the army as the preservers of the constitutions he had settled.

On his return from Italy he was presented to the Directory with great pomp and splendour; the Luxembourg was fitted for the spectacle; an immense awning covered the great court, and the walls were adorned with the national colours and military trophies; an altar held the statues of Liberty, Equality, and Peace, and these were graced with standards taken from the enemy; seats of a semi-circular form composed a large amphitheatre for the Constituted Authorities, and the music. Immense crowds filled every place, and the streets were crowded with those who could not get admittance; the air resounded with shouts of joy.

The sound of cannon at noon announced the fête; the Directory, Ministers of State, and Constituted Authorities, moved towards the Luxembourg; when they were

Bonaparte presented to the Directory.

seated, the Directory signified they were ready to receive those in waiting. The music began a symphony, which was interrupted by shouts of, Long live the Republic ! Long live Bonaparte ! Long live the great Nation ! All eyes were eagerly turned towards the door—Bonaparte entered—none were silent, but all with one accord cried out, The deliverer of Italy !

He advanced calmly and dignified, and, great as was the moment, seemed as cool as he used to be in the midst of battle. He was attended by the Minister at War, and his Aides-du-Camp ; the music played a national air, and all stood up uncovered. He was presented to the Directory by Talleyrand with a suitable speech ; all were eager to hear him speak, and the modesty of his appearance was a contrast to his situation ; a silence took place while he presented the President with the Emperor's ratification of the treaty, and said, that the French, to be free, had to contend with Kings, and alter the forms of eighteen centuries ; but that the constitution of the third year and they have conquered every obstacle ; he has the honour to present the treaty of Campo Formio, ratified by his Imperial Majesty ; that peace gives every thing to the Republic, and when the happiness of the French rests on well-formed laws, all Europe will be free.

When he had finished, acclamations rent the air. The President replied to him in a long speech, and gave the fraternal embrace, as did the other members ; he descended from the altar to an arm chair placed for him ; the music played again, and after the other generals were presented, the sitting was dissolved. Bonaparte was saluted in the same manner by the people at his departure. A grand dinner was given at the Luxembourg, and a

His Installation at the National Institute.

ball at the house of the Minister of the Interior concluded the august ceremony.

Bonaparte affected the character of a man of letters, and placed his title, Member of the Institute, before that of General. When he was nominated to be a member of the Institute, he wrote a letter to Camus, the President, in which he expresses his high sense of the honour the Institute have done him; and if he knew one way more expressive than another of shewing his esteem for them, he would make use of it; that true conquests are those gained over ignorance—they leave no regret—and nothing can be more honourable than to extend the bounds of human knowledge.

His wife shared many of the parties given to him; he always attended her to the balls, and paid her every mark of respect. The plainness of his dress and manner pointed out his real grandeur, for when every one else was superbly dressed to do him honour, he appeared in a plain coat without powder.

His Installation at the National Institute was meant to be private, yet, when the day was known, the place was crowded as soon as it was opened; for he always drew a crowd; at five, the members took their seats, he in the midst of them in a plain grey frock, his usual dress: nothing distinguished him from the crowd, yet he attracted every person's notice; when he was discovered, applause shook the room; and the same occurred whenever any thing in the speeches alluded to him.

The great marks of favour which he received must have been pleasing to him, and have given him confidence in whatever views he had against the government: but there is reason to think, if he had such views, he was not at ease. Carnot has declared that the Directory

wished to destroy him. Bonaparte knew this, and secretly despised them. In Paris he could not stay with safety, even had he concealed his disgust—to reduce himself to the level of the sycophants of the Directory, the panders of the people, was humiliating in the extreme to him, who with his army was without a rival.

Although great honours were lavished on Bonaparte by the Literati, and they had conferred their distinctions on him, yet those who accompanied him to Egypt were ridiculed by men of letters. The *Accusateur Public* asks what can be thought of those who, scarcely knowing the alphabet of common sense, think themselves called upon to fulfil those high destinies, and disregarding the fate of Pharaoh's followers, set off with the modern Jason, to seek the golden fleece, and astonish Asia with their talents; that he sees nothing in it, but spreading the revolution over Asia—their manners and customs are so different, that they render the eastern nations averse to ours. What advantage could they derive from having Cairo, and wanting 40,000 men? He reprobates this expedition, and says, the British Government wished that their army should land on these distant shores—that it may indeed be believed when Admiral Nelson was before Alexandria three days before Bonaparte arrived.

In a pamphlet published by Carnot before Bonaparte went to Egypt, he complains of his ingratitude towards himself, to whom he was under great obligations for his appointment to the command of the army in Italy. He was, he says, so satisfied that Bonaparte had not assisted in his proscription, that when he was on his journey to Rastadt, through a place where Carnot was for a time, he was going to write to him, requesting an interview, but he waved it, not wishing to put him to trouble; for

Peltier's Account of Bonaparte's Cruelty.

as to his generosity he had no doubt—he illuminated his windows as the rest of the people did, and in a few days found himself happy in doing as he did—he heard that a banker at Geneva, named Bontems, was confined for his being suspected to have taken him from Paris to save him from the Directory, who sent almost an army to find him; this was untrue; he had never seen Bontems in Paris, yet he remained a long time in prison. This, he says, he heard from many who saw him at Geneva, and said that Bonaparte threatened most violently; in other places Carnot's expressions against Bonaparte's behaviour are very indignant.

A man remarkable for great actions will have many friends from admiration, and enemies from envy; some will praise him to the skies, others debase him to the lowest pitch, and he will be represented either as a demi-god or a demon.

These remarks will apply to Bonaparte, and every tale of him will meet with some believers. An act of great cruelty is attributed to him in a letter in M. Peltier's "Paris." It states, that in no age have greater crimes been committed than those which are hourly so under his authority; that in the hospitals, when a man is past recovery, or his wounds will prevent him from being of use to the service, a mark is set on his bed, which tells the attendants that he is to be carried away with the dead; he is accordingly thrown into a waggon, and generally smothered or strangled, and that he has been a witness to this; that after the action at Salo near the Lake of Guarda, Bonaparte ordered the dead, dying, and wounded to be buried; five waggon loads at midnight were thrown into a ditch, and eight loads of burning lime poured on them, which falling on the wounds of them, made them

Sir Robert Wilson's Account of him.

utter such cries, that the curate of Salo died from the effects ; to these, he says, he has been witness, and he can prove them ; he calls on the Directory to verify the facts, and then he will appear before them, but that in the mean time he will discover himself to Rewbell.

Sir Robert Wilson, in his work published during the peace, relates many circumstances of atrocity. In his preface he remarks, that if his representations of Bonaparte's conduct in the many instances alluded to are improper to be brought forward, he is glad of an occasion to bring the world better acquainted with this celebrated character, who, by his universal career of victory, save Acre, that glorious monument of British conduct, has blinded the generality of mankind ; if what he advances is not true, the man lives to exonerate his character ; and if he cannot deny them, he must go to the grave loaded with such offences.

General Hutchinson, Sir Robert says, was much displeased with the Turks for still retaining the practice of mangling and cutting off their prisoner's heads ; and severe orders were issued against it, but the Turks defended themselves by the massacre at Jaffa ; as this, and the poisoning of the sick were never believed, being so highly atrocious, an account of them may not be deemed intrusive.

Bonaparte having carried Jaffa by assault, great part of the garrison were put to the sword, but many flying to the mosques and calling for mercy, were given their lives ; and the army in the moment of revenge, heard the voice of pity ; three days afterwards, Bonaparte, who was displeased at the compassion shewn by his troops, resolved to get rid of the care of near four thousand prisoners ; he ordered them to be marched to a place near

The Sick at Jaffa poisoned.

Jaffa, where the French infantry formed against them; when all was ready the signal gun fired, and volleys of grape and musquetry played against them. He was looking at the scene through a telescope, and could not repress his joy when he saw the smoke ascend. Kleber remonstrated in the strongest manner, and the officer who commanded refused to execute the order without written orders, but Bonaparte was cautious, and sent Berthier to enforce obedience.

Some time elapsed before the bayonet finished what the fire had left undone. Several French officers, who corroborate this detail, declare that this scene tormented their recollection, and they could not think on it without horror; the bones still lie in heaps and are shewn to every traveller who arrives. Assertion should not alone be brought forward against such a charge. It would be a cruelty to name individuals compelled to obey through necessity, but it need only be mentioned it was Bon's division which fired, and an opportunity is offered of satisfying every person who wishes to enquire from the officers serving in the brigades which composed that division.

The hospitals at Jaffa being crowded with sick, Bonaparte sent for a physician, whose name should be immortal, and talked much of the dangers of contagion, remarking, that something must be done, and the destruction of the sick to him seemed the only measure to be adopted; the physician remonstrated, and shewed the cruelty and atrocity of such a murder; but seeing Bonaparte bent on his plan, left the tent, thanking God he did not profess the principles of a murderer. Bonaparte persevered, and found an apothecary, who has since eased his mind by confessing the fact, who consented to

Inhabitants of Jaffa put to Death.

administer poison to the sick. Opium was given in refreshing food, and 580 men who had borne so much for their country, perished thus miserably ! the same physician who refused to be accessory to this murder, accused Bonaparte of treason in a full assembly at Cairo, and charged him with strangling French and Copts who had the plague at Rosetta. He attempted to justify himself, but the members sat petrified with terror.

Bonaparte pleaded that he had ordered the men to be destroyed, as he had not provisions to support them, nor strength enough to guard them ; and that if they had escaped, they would again have been in the ranks against the French ; the sick he destroyed to prevent contagion and save themselves. These arguments were, however, refuted ; and when he left Egypt, the physician was elected president of the Institute ; this spoke for itself.

To this statement of Sir Robert Wilson, Dr. Wittman, physician to the British mission which accompanied the army of the Grand Vizier, says, in a work printed after Sir Robert Wilson's, that " Four thousand of the wretched inhabitants who had surrendered, and in vain besought the mercy of their conquerors, were dragged out in cold blood four days after the French got Jaffa, to about a league distance, in the way to Gaza, and there *most inhumanly put to death.*" He says he has seen their skeletons scattered over the sand hills, and that hearing it reported that Bonaparte had ordered all the sick at Jaffa to be poisoned, he inquired into it, and is sorry to say, such a circumstance was positively said to have happened, and while in Egypt, a person was pointed out to him as the executioner of these dreadful commands.

Complaints were made to the British minister of these

Sir Robert Wilson exclaims against Bonaparte.

publications by General Andreossi, the ambassador of Bonaparte at Great Britain, and Sir Robert Wilson hearing of the complaint, wrote to the editors of different papers.

He says, that in the late official correspondence, there are some remarks the French ambassador was to make on his history of the British expedition to Egypt; and which he feels himself obliged to notice; that he feels himself no ways irritated by the language of General Andreossi, but he wishes the public not to attribute his silence to a desire of evading further discussion.

The ambassador, he observes, says, that a colonel in the English army has published a work filled with disgusting calumnies against the French army and its General; that its lies have been contradicted by Colonel Sebastiani's reception. He will not enter into a detail of the facts he could urge, but he appeals to every British officer employed in Egypt, whether those observations are not true which describe the French as hateful to the inhabitants of that country, who paint them as meriting that hatred from the destruction their progress through it has occasioned; and if this is denied, he submits to any odium; he is, however, confident, that there is no person who will not fully confirm what he has written on the subject, and he can produce frequent general orders of the French army for destroying villages and their inhabitants; that above forty thousand natives perished by the French soldiers, and that every thing was done which could disgrace civilized nations; that he could not help reflecting with pride on the different conduct of the British, who were esteemed by the natives, and their uniform held as sacred as the turban of Mahometanism.

Sir Robert then asks, if the effect of Colonel Sebastiani's report justifies the Chief Consul's conclusion, "That it refutes what he has written," although credit is attached to that report; or could the Chief Consul suppose that the world will trace respect for the French name in the matter which happened to Colonel Sebastiani at Cairo, and made him demand protection from the Vizir.

Colonel Sebastiani states, that Mustapha Oukil, one of the chiefs of the city, passed him one day on horseback, and reproached his guides with marching before a christian, particularly a Frenchman, and threatened them with the bastinado. Sebastiani sent to the Pacha and made his complaint, demanding at the same time redress. Mustapha was greatly protected by the Pacha, but he declared if reparation was not made he would state his complaints to Paris and Constantinople; this had the effect, and Mustapha came to him the following day and asked pardon; this was spread through the city and had the best effect.

This is advanced by Colonel Sebastiani, to shew the respect in which the French name was held, though the world will hardly trace it in his being obliged to ask protection from the Vizir.

Sir Robert Wilson was aware, he says, of the responsibility he took in the accusation against Bonaparte, and he wishes those to be held guilty who withdrew from the inquiry. He confessed himself his accuser, and was prepared to support his charge; it was not an anonymous libeller Bonaparte had to deal with, but one whose rank and character justified his most serious attention. The charges were too great to be treated with neglect, and were not read with indifference. Europe, he says,

General Jourdan declares the Country in danger.

is more acquainted with this misconceived man, and is gratified in thinking that he has assisted in developing him.

It should be stated, that the Turks thus slain had been given their liberty on condition they did not serve against the French. If they disobeyed the commands of the Pacha, they would have been slaughtered by their own countrymen. Bonaparte should, however, have considered this before he ordered so many men to death. Actions like this stain the character of the soldier; that he ordered poison to be administered to his own soldiers sick in the hospitals is destitute of proof, as the Physician General to the army declares he shewed every attention, and visited them while they had the plague.

CHAPTER LXIX.

GENERAL Jourdan had proposed a decree in the Council of Five Hundred, once more declaring "the country in danger;" when Bonaparte arrived at Paris.

The news flew like lightning: the Parisians crowded to behold the "Conqueror of Egypt:" they surrounded him, and all seemed anxious to welcome his return. His manners seemed more affable than before he quitted France; he spoke to the people, and shook many by the hand who had served with him in Italy. His complexion shaded by Egyptian suns, and his hair cut short and without powder, made him appear more manly than previous

Bonaparte arrives at Paris.

to his leaving Europe. He wore a grey riding-coat with a silk scarf over his shoulder suspending a Turkish sabre. He passed along to the Luxembourg with the acclamations of the populace, and had a private audience of the Directory.

Sieyes the Director, long foresaw what was likely to result from the weakness of the Government, the energy of the factions, and the anarchy of the people; he saw that, if the Executive Power was not feared, it would not be respected. He despised his colleagues, and only one of them had his confidence; this was Roger Ducos, who looked on Sieyes as an oracle, and attached himself to him, because he could see that if the Directory fell, Sieyes could save himself from the contempt of the people; to Sieyes, Ducos allied his fortune, and he was the disciple of his brother Director.

Sieyes told Ducos of his intention of calling in one of the generals to save the Republic and themselves by overthrowing the Directory: he was pleased at the joy of the people on the arrival of their favourite, which alarmed the other Directors; he welcomed him, disclosed to him his project, and required his aid in its execution.

Conferences were held, at which the Director Sieyes, the Directors Roger Ducos, Talleyrand, Fouché, Volney, Rœderer, Reinhard, and Bonaparte, with his brothers Lucien and Joseph, were present: few others were entrusted with the conspiracy, but those who were, managed with great discretion. They created a rumour, that a new form of government was preparing for the Republic. A change was talked of without knowing from whence it was to proceed; the public was, however, prepared for a change, and all that seemed necessary was the destruction of the Directory. A few of the Council of An-

Grand Entertainment at the Temple of Victory.

cients and of the Council of Five Hundred were in the secret.

Bonaparte was very little in public ; he courted seclusion from the curiosity of the idle, and declined the visits of almost every person ; all talked of him, but very few knew anything about him. He attached to himself men of talents and enterprise who were silent, that their plans might be secure in their operation.

Sieyes and Ducos acted in a manner calculated to lull their brother Directors in security ; they prevailed on them to invite General Bonaparte and General Moreau to a public dinner. A grand entertainment was, accordingly given in the Temple of Victory (the church of St. Sulpice). There were near eight hundred persons, and most of the great public functionaries of the Republic. The leading men were assembled at this feast, which was intended to soften their dislikes by making them acquainted with each other. The toast given by the President of the Directory was "Peace !" and that by Bonaparte, "A union of all parties : " it was plain, that this was a mere dinner of ceremony ; the whole viewed each other with distrust ; there was no mirth or confidence : and, though it pretended to effect a union of parties, it seemed to put them further asunder. Bonaparte quitted the room soon, and the whole was over in three hours.

They separated in distrust of the intentions of each other, and without any desire of repressing their ambitious pretensions. The very evening of the day on which Bonaparte gave "A union of all parties" as a toast, he met his party to determine on the measures to be adopted, and to assign the part that each was to act.

The Committee of Inspectors of the Council of Ancients, sent messages to one hundred and fifty members

Bonaparte appears at the Tribunal.

of that body, of whom few knew of the conspiracy, to meet at eight o'clock in the Thuilleries. When they met, the most violent of the Jacobins, about an hundred, were not assembled; they were not summoned, and were ignorant of the meeting.

Cornet, the Reporter of the Committee, in a speech to the meeting, stated the danger of the Republic, and proposed that the assembly should adjourn to St. Cloud; that General Bonaparte should put the decree in execution, and for that purpose, that he should be appointed commander of all the troops in Paris, and of the National Guard; this was passed by a great majority.

The proclamation that was issued immediately after, stated, that this measure was adopted to restore internal peace. Bonaparte appeared at the bar with some other general officers, and being told by the president of his appointment, he addressed him in a short speech: he said the Republic was perishing, he knew this, and his decree has saved it—woe to those who wish for anarchy; aided by his brave companions he will arrest their course—they demand a Republic founded on true liberty—and will have it; great applauses came from the tribunes, they were called to order, and the president told him the council had received his oath; Garat wished to be heard, but the president observed, that there would be no discussion before next day at noon, and the sitting was dissolved with cries of “Long live the Republic!”

Bonaparte issued a proclamation to the National Guard; he tells them the Council of Ancients has just enacted the decree, entrusting him with the measures relative to the safety of the National Representation; that its removal from Paris is temporary, but necessary; that all patriots should unite; he encourages them to stand

Proclamation of Fouche, Minister of Police.

by the legislature and establish the Republic on the basis of liberty, happiness and peace. He also published a proclamation to the troops of the line, declaring his appointment to the command of the city and the army, which he has accepted to support the measures of the legislature; that the Republic for two years past has been ill governed; he urges them to fulfil their duties, and support him with energy and confidence; and that liberty and peace will again restore the Republic to her former rank in Europe; he then issues general orders, naming the Generals appointed to different depots and situations in and about Paris. These proclamations and orders issued on the 18th of Brumaire, were prepared some time before, and were to be used or not as circumstances occurred.

Fouche, the minister of General Police, also issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, telling them that the Republic was threatened with destruction, but the legislature has supported liberty on the very brink of ruin to render it immortal; he desires all Republicans to be easy as their wishes are accomplished, and to be deaf to the insinuations of those who seek troubles in political events, that power supports the weak, and the people are desired to attend to their own business in perfect security; that all repressive measures are ready, and those who make attempts against public or private safety shall be seized and punished. The central administration of Paris also issued a proclamation, which, after saying that peace alone would put an end to the disorders of the country, concludes by saying, that General Bonaparte, on whom all may rely, is charged with their safety; and they will see him acquire a new glory by contributing to the welfare of the people.

Bonaparte marches a Force to the Thuilleries.

When the decree of the Council of Ancients passed, Bonaparte marched 10,000 troops to the Thuilleries, and guarded it so well that no one could pass into any part of it, or within the walls. He formed his dispositions, and addressed the troops in the great court, while three of the Directors and all Paris knew nothing of what was going forward, till his proclamations were published. The Directors Sieyes and Ducos being in the secret, waited the result in silence. Sieyes was in the gardens of the Luxembourg, and Ducos in his own apartments, when they were told of what was doing; they galloped directly to the Thuilleries, and joined those who were deliberating what measures to take to put the decree in execution.

The Director Barras was required to give in his resignation in the morning, and the lady through whom the request came, was desired to offer him any pecuniary assistance he might require: he was at first violently irritated, but soon became more calm, and acknowledged it was impossible to go on with five people, who had no faith in each other; but he refused to resign.

Gohier, who was to have breakfasted with Bonaparte, was much surprised to find what had passed, but, particularly, the transferring the Assemblies to St. Cloud: he went into the chamber of the Directory, and sent for his colleagues. Moulins, equally surprised, came to him immediately; but they were still more so when they heard that Sieyes was gone to the Thuilleries; they sent for Ducos, and found he was there also: Barras was summoned next, and refused to come. Gohier sent for La Garde, the Secretary General, and ordered him to register a decree which he dictated to him; but La Garde answered, that without a majority of the Directory he

Barras sends his Resignation to Bonaparte:

could not do as he requested. Moulins was much agitated, and proposed to send a guard to invest the house of Bonaparte, and keep him a prisoner; but he was told that every soldier in Paris was under Bonaparte's command. General Lefebvre was requested to attend them: but he said, that as he was under the orders of Bonaparte, he could not march a single man without his permission. They despaired of retaining their power; and in a short time the Luxembourg was invested with a strong guard, sent there by Bonaparte.

It was requisite that the act for transferring the Assemblies to St. Cloud should be signed by a majority of the Directory; and Gohier went to the Thuilleries, and added his name to those of Sieyes and Ducos. He repented of what he had done; and when the seal of state was demanded of him he refused to give it up. When he returned to the Luxembourg a guard was appointed over him, and he was a prisoner in the directorial palace.

Moulins jumped out of a window into the garden, and hid himself till he could get quietly away: no one attempted to look after him.

Barras sent his resignation to Bonaparte by his secretary Botot. The Ex-director waited in a carriage till Botot returned. Bonaparte was in the apartment of the Inspectors when Botot desired to speak with him; and having given the paper to the General, he inquired, in a low voice, what Barras had to expect from him; "Tell him," said Bonaparte, "that I wish to hear no more of him, and that I will cause my authority to be respected."

Botot retired to acquaint Barras with what had passed. Barras got leave to retire to his estate of Gros Bois, and a party of horse attended him.

The Legislature adjourn to St. Cloud.

The Council of Five Hundred assembled, not knowing upon whom they were to rely, and dreading the treachery of those they had no ground even to suspect. These alarms were occasioned by the events of the morning; they were divided between vague and contradictory rumours, when the President, Lucien Bonaparte, entered the hall, and seated himself. They expected an account of the business of the morning. Lucien Bonaparte was chosen their president some days before; and a few members, who had assisted in procuring his appointment, only knew that it was a measure of the new party, to aid their plans upon the Government.

To Lucien every eye was turned—The *procès verbal* was read, and all were eager to speak. The President arose, and read the decree which removed the Legislative Body to the palace of St. Cloud. A clamour instantly arose; the President declared the sitting dissolved, and quitted the hall, with many members attached to the new order of things.

The remainder of the day and night was employed by Bonaparte and the other generals and public men, with Sieyes at their head, in preparing the business of the next day. The Directory no longer existed; Barras was exiled to his country seat, Gohier and Moulins were in confinement at the Luxembourg, and Sieyes and Ducos were accelerating the new changes. Every public place in Paris was paraded by parties of soldiery.

The 19th of Brumaire (10th of November) was big with important events. The castle of St. Cloud was surrounded by troops in the morning before day-light. The Council of Ancients and the Council of Five Hundred were to sit at St. Cloud at noon; by that hour the members had repaired there in great numbers. Every access

Gaudin's Motion in the Council of Five Hundred for a Committee of Seven.

being guarded, the deputies were obliged to shew their medals: only a few others with tickets were allowed to enter. The picture gallery was allotted for the Council of Ancients and the orangerie for the Council of Five Hundred: but the sittings did not take place till two o'clock, owing to the workmen not being done.

The business was opened in the Council of Five Hundred by Gaudin proposing seven members to consider of the means of providing for the public safety. It was thought this motion would be carried; but no sooner was it suggested, than many of the Jacobin party darted forward, eager to be heard. The cry of "Down with dictators!" was general. Others exclaimed, "The Constitution or death!" and it was proposed that every member should take a fresh oath to preserve the Constitution. The other party were so thrown off their guard, that the cry of "Long live the Constitution!" was general, and the motion was agreed to. This gave the Jacobins time, which was all they wanted. The ceremony took up two hours; and when it was over many things were discussed amidst great confusion. Some motions were however adopted, totally opposite to the intentions of those who had procured the adjournment of the meeting to St. Cloud.

A letter was brought in to the Council: it was opened by the President, who stated it came from Barras. When read, it imported his resignation, but was couched in such terms as intimated a desire to be employed in the new Government; and it gave rise to a debate, on the question, Whether the assembly should proceed to the election of a new Director? Much confusion arose from those who wished a change of government, but who came

Bonaparte enters the Council of Ancients.

to the assembly ignorant of what was intended by Bonaparte.

The danger was imminent, and some vigorous measures were wanting to complete the revolution. Bonaparte, on being told of the tumultuous discussions, was violently agitated. He hastened to the Council of Ancients, and, leaving his arms behind, entered the assembly, and having asked permission to address the sitting, leave was given. He instantly addressed them with great animation. He told them they were placed in no common case—they were on the mouth of a volcano ready to devour them—he speaks to them with the candour of a soldier, zealous for his country—he was living peaceably at Paris when he got their decree, which told him of their dangers, and with his brother soldiers he hastened to their assistance—if he had any personal object in view, or wished to usurp the supreme authority, he would not have obeyed the orders they gave—more than once, in favourable circumstances, he has been called to take the reins of government—after the triumphs in Italy the nation and the army, oppressed in his absence, invited him—the country, he said, had no one more devoted to it than himself; but that on them depends its safety, as the Directory is no more, four of the magistrates who composed it have given in their resignations—dangers press hard, several places in La Vendee are in the hands of the Chouans—the Council of Ancients has great power, and greater wisdom; consult that alone—he bids them endeavour to preserve what they have sacrificed so much for, liberty and equality—he wishes to serve the French people only; unite their wisdom to his force, and he would devote himself to the safety of the Republic—

He addresses the Assembly.

A member exclaimed, "and of the constitution."

At this he was indignantly warm, and asked if it became him to name it—that it was the sport of every party, and constantly trampled on; no one has been or can be safe under it; it is grossly outraged—the rights of the people had been indignantly violated—that they must labour to re-establish those rights on a firm foundation, and when the dangers of the country are subsided he will abdicate the command entrusted to him, and support the magistracy they may nominate.

A member here confirmed the assertions of Bonaparte, and said he was acquainted with some *criminal opinions* entertained of the General, which could only be discussed in the absence of strangers.

Spectators were ordered to withdraw, and when the hall was cleared Bonaparte continued—*criminal opinions*, he repeated—he could, he said, reveal things which would confound his calumniators; but he thinks it enough to tell them, that the late Directors, Barras and Moulins, advised him to overturn the government, and put himself at the head of affairs; these overtures he repulsed, because liberty was dearer to him than life—several factions offered him their services, but he rejected all, as unworthy the ear of a Republican—he speaks frankly, like a soldier; he is a stranger to eloquence; he has always followed the god of war—he tells them not to be afraid, he and his comrades will defend them and the Republic—then looking at the soldiers on duty in the hall, he appeals to them, and, well as they know him, entreats them to turn their bayonets against him if they ever see him abandon the cause of liberty—he urges them to adopt prompt measures to save the country, and then retired.

Violent discussions took place in the Council of Five

Bonaparte's Danger in the Council of Five Hundred.

Hundred, when Bonaparte suddenly entered the hall unarmed, attended by a few grenadiers, also without arms, and who waited within side; he was proceeding to the top of the hall, when the Council was instantly in motion, and cries of "This is not your place"—"What do you want here?" issued from many voices—some flew to the tribunes, others hastened towards Bonaparte, exclaiming, "Down with him! Kill him! Kill him!" He was pushed and struck at—several drew poignards and pistols. Arena, a Corsican, a deputy, aimed a blow at him with a dagger. Thome, a grenadier, parried it, and was wounded. Another blow wounded Bonaparte in the cheek.

The President, Lucien Bonaparte, with much difficulty got leave to speak. The General, he said, had no other intention than to acquaint the Council with the present state of affairs. He was heard no more, the noise was so great, and the General was on the point of falling, when General Lefebvre rushed into the hall with a body of men, who surrounded and carried him out. When the soldiers left the hall it was instantly decreed, that the Council of Ancients had not power to invest Bonaparte with the command. The President, Lucien, spoke with warmth on the disorders of the day, and the insults offered to an illustrious General, who had done the greatest services to the Republic. Several called out to outlaw him, as he had disgraced the military character, and deserved death from every patriot. The President, they said, was in the conspiracy, or he would have proclaimed the General outlawed. The assembly was a riotous mob, the President was attacked on all sides, his authority despised, and his life in danger—he darted from the chair, and made to the tribune, and from thence

Lucien Bonaparte addresses the Soldiers.

endeavoured to get a hearing; but his voice was lost in loud cries against his brother and himself—he used every exertion, but without effect; his frame was convulsed with indignation, and his destruction seemed inevitable.

When the General was outside of the hall, a few minutes removed him from the effects of his late danger, he hastened to the court-yard where the troops were drawn up, and addressed them: every body, he said, had thought that the Council of Five Hundred would save the country, but he found them a furious mob, ready to destroy him—could he rely on them—they all shouted “Yes, Yes,” and “Long live Bonaparte.” He took a few grenadiers into the hall just as Lucien had given up his life. He was carried off through a violent uproar, and proceeded directly to the Council of Ancients, where he related his brother’s danger and his own. A member remarked the irregularity of a member of the Council of Five Hundred addressing them, but this was overlooked, and Lucien went to his brother, who was encouraging the troops to accomplish his object. He mounted a horse to be better seen, and addressed them: he declared to them, that some representatives, armed with poignards, subdue an immense majority of the Council, and threaten death to those who refuse to comply with their measures—that these audacious people are in rebellion against the Council of Ancients, and threatened the General entrusted with their measures as an outlaw—that he trusts to the soldiers the rescuing the majority of the members, that afterwards they may be able to deliberate for the welfare of the Republic—that they will only acknowledge those who follow him out of the assembly; whoever remains must be driven from thence by force—he concluded his speech by crying out “Long live the

The Hall of the Council of Five Hundred cleared by the troops.

Republic," and the soldiers repeated that, and "Long live Bonaparte." General Serrurier, in a few words, told them that the Council approves General Bonaparte, whom the Council of Five Hundred attempted to assassinate, but that they will overcome the villains, and peace will be restored.

The troops then entered the hall of the Council of Five Hundred. The commanding officer exclaimed: "General Bonaparte commands us to clear the hall." The grenadiers filled half of the hall, the other half was occupied by the deputies, who crowded round the President's chair. Many members addressed the soldiers, conjuring them not to follow their leaders. The drums beat and voices could not be heard. The grenadiers then came to the charge, and a dreadful scene was shewn by the tardy Deputies; in escaping from the soldiers they filled up the windows and doors, and tumbled over one another. The hall was soon cleared by the soldiers, and they were received outside by the hootings and hisses of the people.

The Council of Ancients on being made acquainted with what had passed in the hall of the Council of Five Hundred, passed a decree that a temporary commission of three persons should be appointed, and adjourned the legislature.

At nine o'clock those members of the Council of Five Hundred, who had followed Lucien Bonaparte, their President, assembled again in the orangerie, protected by troops. Lucien took the chair, and moved, that General Bonaparte and the other generals and officers, as well as the troops employed at St. Cloud, having saved the Republic from the plans of the assassins, have deserved well of their country. That Thomas Thome and J. B. Poiret,

The Three Consuls appointed.

who defended General Bonaparte against the poinards of the assassins, have deserved well of their country ; these resolutions were immediately decreed. Lucien then quitted the president's chair, got into the Tribune and pronounced an harrangue on the necessity of appointing a new Government ; his speech was received with great applause and shouts of " Long live the Republic."

A long decree of sixteen articles was then read ; the first contained the names of an immense body of members, who were declared unfit to be members of the National Representation, from their conduct in general, but chiefly in the hall that morning. They then voted an Executive Consular Committee, composed of the two ex-directors, Sieyes and Ducos, and Bonaparte, General, to bear the name of the Consuls of the French Republic ; they invested them with full powers, of every description ; the remainder of the decree consists solely of matters of form and ceremony. Their sittings were to be in Paris, at the Palace of the Legislative Body.

This decree was sent to the Council of Ancients, and an address was prepared for the French people ; it told them that the Republic was again saved from faction ; that matters were in a most favourable train for the country, but seditious men attacked the weak side of the constitution, and availed themselves of new commotions ; the most sacred rights of social man have been abandoned to factions ; but that it was time to put an end to such commotions and guarrantee the liberty of the citizens by a steady Government, who may give them a speedy and honourable peace ; tha such a Government is instituted, invested with full powers. Royalty shall not rear its head, liberty shall cease to be a phantom, and a new age

Proclamation issued by Bonaparte.

shall begin ; the people are exhorted to stand by their magistrates, whose zeal nothing can diminish.

Bonaparte was preparing a proclamation, assisted by his secretary, and he issued it at eleven o'clock at night on the 19th Brumaire, (10th of November.) He begins by saying, that when he returned to Paris he found discord among all the constituted authorities, who only agreed in one thing, namely, that the constitution was half destroyed ; that all parties solicited his support, but he refused to be of any party ; he details the particulars of the affairs at St. Cloud, and describes the fermentation occasioned by the factions ; relates his life having been attempted, and the manner in which he was saved, his rescuing the president, and clearing the hall with soldiers ; that the factious leaders being intimidated then went away. The majority returned peaceably to the hall, and prepared the resolution which is to be the new and provisional law of the Republic ; in his conduct he trusts the French will see the zeal of a soldier of liberty devoted to the Republic.

The Council of Ancients discussed the decree sent to them, and announced their approbation of it at one in the morning. The three Consuls went to the Council of Five Hundred, when the president, Lucien Bonaparte, told them that the greatest people in the world entrusted them with their destinies ; every thing was entrusted to them ; that they are supported by the nation and the armies, and besides are known to be devoted to the welfare of the people.

The Consuls then took the oaths and returned to Paris about four in the morning and entered on their functions ; the seal of the Republic was changed, the newspapers

Address from the Consuls read by Torch Light.

stopped, and new ones printed to acquaint the departments; in the evening an address was read through Paris by torch light, from the Consuls. It merely tells them that the constitution of the third year was perishing, and that it could not protect itself; factions desolated the Republic, and France was on the brink of ruin. The patriots agreed upon a plan—those who might have been dangerous are discarded; those who may be useful have never abandoned the banners of liberty; it then invites the citizens to take the oath of allegiance to the Republic; this was signed by the three Consuls.

The change was agreeable to the people, for the Directory whom they hated was removed; the Jacobins clamoured against it, for they saw their designs frustrated, but their murmurs were suppressed by the arrest of their leaders. Sieyes and Ducos were in the new executive, and the other ex-directors did not court popular observation. Barras had acquired a princely fortune, and was satisfied. Gohier, with his dress, lost all his consequence. Moulins was so much alarmed, that flying from his post in the time of danger, he dreaded least the Consuls should punish him for the weakness which helped to raise them into office; the Directory had sunk never to rise again.

This revolution is remarkable for being accomplished without bloodshed; the bayonet was shewn and respected; if it was not used, it was that no resistance was offered to it by men whom the people had no confidence in. Bonaparte and the army were the founders of the Government, and military pomp was united with the magisterial duties.

Declaration of the Emperor of Russia.

CHAPTER LXX.

THE military situation of France on the Continent was traced up to the time when Bonaparte returned from Egypt. General Melas, with the Austrian army in Italy, was opposed by General Championnet, and the Archduke Charles, with General Suwarrow, commanded the Allied Russian and Austrian armies against General Massena in Switzerland. There were skirmishes which turned to the advantage of the Allies; and particularly, as they led to the surrender of Rome, and Civita Vecchia, to the English squadron, commanded by Captain Trowbridge. In taking up the narrative of the war, from the time when our Hero became the soul of the Republic, we should shew the views of the Allies, as they can be gathered from the declaration of the Emperor of Russia, which arrived in France before the Directory were overthrown.

In this declaration his Imperial Majesty declares, that wishing to put a stop to the disorders spread by the Government under which France groans, and wishing to restore Royalty in France, without, however, dividing that country; to re-establish the ancient form of Government in the United Netherlands, and the Swiss Cantons; maintain the integrity of the German Empire, and see the happiness of Europe; that Providence has hitherto blessed his arms, and the Russian troops have been victorious. He addresses himself to all the members of the German Empire, inviting them to join him, to destroy their common enemy, and found permanent

Genoa contended for by both Parties.

tranquillity for themselves and their posterity. If he sees they support him, and rally round him, he will redouble his exertions, and not sheath his sword till he has seen the downfall of the monster who threatens all legal authorities ; but if left to himself, he will give up a cause so badly supported by those who ought to share most in its triumph.

Genoa both parties evidently contended for. The Austrians were endeavouring to surround it by land, whilst the British prepared to act by sea ; and the French endeavoured to maintain the shock by great reinforcements.

General Melas had intelligence that the French were assembling a large force on the banks of the Stura, and dispatched seven battalions, to take the most advantageous position, between Fossano and Savigliano, and observe the motions of the enemy. These posts were attacked, but the Austrians maintained their stand.

Championnet fixed his head-quarters at Finale ; the Austrian General, Melas, had his at La Trinite, 39 miles North-west by West of Finale. Detachments of the armies carried on a war of posts to protect Coni from being invested. Klenau, who advanced towards Genoa, was repulsed by the French General, Miollis. The French marched upon Novi, as Bochetta gave security to the Northern parts of the Genoese territory. Novi was taken by them, and they made an attack upon General Karaczy, at Rivalta, and threatened the country of the Milanese. Championnet assembled his troops at Coni, where he went in person, entrusting the head and right of his line to St. Cyr, as well as Genoa and the places in its vicinity. Including the detachments and the army of the Alps, he found he had no more than

The Republicans fall back before the Austrians.

25,000 men. Skirmishes took place with various success, when Championnet determined to give battle to the enemy; and meant to surround the right wing of the Austrian army, and compel Melas to engage the Republicans to his disadvantage. The Austrian General resolved to embody an army of Piedmontese. These troops were to take the oath of fidelity to the King of Sardinia, but not to be subject to the Austrian discipline.

Championnet gave orders to Victor to attack the posts of La Chiusa and Villa Nova, which the Austrians abandoned. The French pushed on as far as Mendovi; that city was blockaded, and other posts fell into the hands of the Republicans. The designs of Championnet being discovered by Melas, he ordered support to his right wing, and projected the plan of surrounding the left wing of the French army. The hostile armies were in sight of each other. The French were forced to extend their left from Coni, which weakened their line and forced them to fight against superior forces.

Championnet commanded Victor to proceed to Savigliano. The contending armies began their march at the same period. The action was begun by General Ott against Grenier, and these divisions fought with the greatest bravery. The Republican infantry had to bear the enemy's cavalry; they were at last forced back, and accomplished their retreat towards Savigliano, which they were obliged to abandon by the united efforts of Ott and Mitrowsky. Championnet was obliged to fall back on Valdizzio, being the centre position of his army; this position could not be held by the French General, without the hazard of being surrounded, and he drew back his left wing to Contala, four miles North of Coni. Melas collected his troops before Contala, when night

General Kray defeats the Republicans.

put an end to the conflict, and both suffered a material loss.

Contala was forsaken by the French General in the night, a part of his left wing falling back towards the valley of the Stura, and the troops under Grenier continued their retreat to the left of the torrent of the Gesso, running on the South-west of the valley of the Stura. Morazzo was attacked by Melas the next day, and a number of Republicans laid down their arms to the victors, their retreat being cut off. Championnet abandoned Coni to its own resources, after having lost about 8,000 men. The army retreated, its retreat being secured by the valley of the Tanaro. Melas having information that Championnet's forces were scattered, determined to pursue them, force them to abandon Coni, and to invest the place to the Westward. The republicans were unfortunate in all directions; the troops under Duhesme retreating to Briançon, and the division of Grenier falling back to the top of the Appenines, near the Col de Tende.

To push the siege of Coni, the French must desert all the posts they occupied near it. Melas summoned Coni to surrender, but the commandant refusing to comply, he bombarded it, preventing it from receiving assistance from any quarter. Kray was entrusted with operations equally interesting. He gained Acqui, making the French retreat towards the Scrivia, they posted themselves on the mountains of Novi, which they fortified, but they were driven from this by General Kray, and nothing remained to them in Italy except the Ligurian Republic; and the Republican army was reduced by desertion, from the want of provisions.

The siege of Coni was pushed on. General Ott at-

The Russian Army leaves the Allies.

tacked the French which remained at Borgo Saint Dalmazzo, and drove them as far as Robillante ; on the same day Major-general Somasiva pursued them as far as Demonte, which he took and made 100 prisoners ; and the French evacuated the villages of La Chiusa, Boves, and Poveragna. General Championnet collected his force at Mondovi and upon the mountains behind the river Ellero, as far as Monasterlo ; while he occupied this position, they could not proceed with the siege of Coni ; General Melas, therefore, ordered that an attack should be made on the 13th : for this the division of General Metrowski, which had marched to reinforce General Kray, was ordered to return and to form the left of the attack on the town of Mondovi. From the badness of the roads the attacks were not made till late, and the enemy abandoned all his positions. The people of Mondovi opened the gates to the Austrians. The French army evacuated the citadel in the night.

Suwarrow collected his army near Lindau, and found himself with an army far from contemptible, though he had lost more than half his number. This army kept Bregantz, a post of much importance, but with no advantage over the French. Suwarrow, having sent back his cavalry on his rear, began to retreat. The corps of Conde filed off upon Augsburg, to take up their winter quarters. The situation of the Archduke was perilous in the extreme, yet he kept up a line of defence for 80 leagues, from Nauders down to Phillipsburg, and in the presence of forces superior to his own.

Prince Charles could scarcely check the army of the Rhine, after the desertion of Suwarrow. We cannot assign a cause for the departure of the Russians ; no conduct of Austria would have justified deserting an ally,

The Russian Troops leave the Allies.

when his own power could not protect him. The Russian generals complained that their services were not acknowledged by the Austrians; and the Emperor Paul wanted no other ground to lead him to any rash determination. About the middle of November the Russian Generals received orders to return; but hopes were held, that the British and Austrian cabinets might make the Emperor change his determination.

The Autocrat of all the Russias was found to be no more than an elevated savage, resisting all the powers of reasoning; he thought himself neglected, and pursued his resentment. This was unfortunate for the Allies; it was an evil without any good; and was unprincipled, as the Confederacy had made extensive arrangements, upon the presumed co-operation of the Russian forces. Fortune, however, favoured the Allies now, by the French Government being forced to send troops into their own departments, to quell the insurrection of the Chouans and various bodies of Royalists.

CHAPTER LXXI.

CROMWELL, who projected the maritime superiority of his country—he who did so much for his country when factions overset the throne—who refused the crown that was offered to him; that very Cromwell, when a private gentleman, with inferior rank in the King's army, for some particular reasons of his own, resolved to quit the

The Councils enter on their Functions.

kingdom, for a country where his talents would be more regarded. He was stepping on board, when a warrant from the King prevented his leaving the kingdom. If Charles had not exercised this prerogative thus injudiciously, Cromwell could never have ordered the death-warrant of that Monarch. This is suggested at the time when Bonaparte reached the supreme power in France, by the remembrance that early in life he was forced to continue in the French army against his inclination, which urged him to go to Constantinople. The renown of Cromwell will shine in English history—the fame of Bonaparte will live as long, and the likeness of their fortunes will recur to the recollection. Cromwell's deeds are long passed by, but Bonaparte is before our eyes, and influences our own affairs. Whoever has seen, heard, or read of him, wishes to know more. What events occurred to the time when he became Consul of the Republic, are already represented, what followed his elevation are to be related.

The new Consuls entered on their functions. It was agreed there should be no president, but one should be in constant attendance, and each attend in rotation. Maret, formerly Ambassador at Naples, was Secretary General.

Commissions of the Councils of Ancients and Five Hundred assembled, and passed resolutions, substituting a war tax for a forced loan, ordering payment of annuities and pensions in a more regular manner, and adopting a new system of finance. The measures of the new Government made the funds rise very rapidly. A decree was passed, which ordered the banishment to Cayenne of thirty seven persons, and sentenced to imprisonment twenty-two: amongst them was General Jourdan. His

Decree relative to the Priests who married.

name was afterwards erased. The Consuls at length revoked the decree.

Religion was attended to, and the conciliation of the priests to the new order of affairs was attempted, in consequence of a report of Fouché, relative to the banished priests. The Minister of Police stated, that there were a number of priests dangerous, whom authority should watch and punish; but there were also men obedient to the laws, who would have served the Republic, if they had not suffered violence in their affections and habits; such was the effect of the measures resorted to during the tempest of the Revolution. The Consuls decreed, that all those priests who had taken the oaths, and all who had married, and were imprisoned, should be released.

The legislative bodies had discussed the case of some Emigrants, who had been shipwrecked on their native shores: nothing, however, had been settled about them, for the Jacobins would have had them guillotined, and the Moderatists contrived to postpone the deliberations. They had been upwards of three years in confinement at Calais, and were removed to the castle of Ham, in Picardy. The Consuls declared, that their case was not anticipated by the laws respecting Emigrants; and that they should be released and sent from the Republic. This was an honourable method of obtaining the friendship of an enemy.

The Consuls published the following notice relative to the French prisoners in England:

“ The Consuls have notified to the English Government, that, from the 22d December, all the expenses necessary to the maintenance of the French prisoners in

A Company of Comedians ordered for Egypt.

England shall be at the charge of the British Government."

(Signed)

" BONAPARTE.

" SIEYES.

" ROGER DUCOS.

HUGHES BERNARD MARET,

Secretary General.

The reasoning by which this is justified, was suited to the Consulate, for giving an opportunity of reviling the Directory. Perhaps, the real motive was an exhausted treasury ; for the Consuls refused to send remittances for future supplies, and neglected to furnish the French agent with money to pay for what he had taken up for their use, before the official notice arrived ; and he was detained by the British Government for the debts he had contracted.

For the army in Egypt Bonaparte shewed no intentions to induce the Parisians to think that the French arms were not quite victorious in that quarter, and that the British possessions in India would not shortly be annexed to France. So well did he dissemble any concern he might be supposed to have for his comrades, that he ordered a company of comedians to be sent to Egypt to entertain the army. Those who were willing to go, were to send their applications to the commissary of the Government. Fouché was ordered to put in requisition the women of the town at the Palais Royal. Near 600 females were assembled, to be sent to the Army of the East, with the comedians. Little did the Frenchmen in Paris imagine that the army was threatened with destruction, at the time the First Consul had conferred the command on Kleber,

Bonaparte's Address to the Army in Egypt.

A proclamation to the Army of the East acquainted them with his new rank in the state.

“ The Consul BONAPARTE to the Army of the East.

“ SOLDIERS,

“ The Consuls of the Republic often think on the Army of the East.

“ France knows all the influence of your conquests for the restoration of her commerce, and the civilization of the world.

“ All Europe has her eyes fixed upon you. My thoughts are often with you.

“ In whatever situation the chances of war may place you, be always the soldiers of Rivoli and Aboukir, and you will be invincible.

“ Have in Kleber that unbounded confidence which you had in me ; he deserves it.

“ Soldiers ! think on the day when you will come back victorious to the Sacred Land ; it will be a day of joy and of glory for the whole nation.

(Signed)

“ BONAPARTE.”

The new Government could easily obtain popularity from a people harassed with the inconsistencies of ten governments in as many years. This profligacy was stopped by the revolution of the 18th Brumaire. The new arrangements were better, and business was despatched with celerity. The unruly were awed ; and, as no one could rob in the name of the nation, the people respected the authority which rendered their property secure.

Finance took Bonaparte's attention. He caused some resolutions to be passed, by which the receivers general

A Loan voted to the Government.

of the departments were to sign bonds for the taxes of their departments, payable by twelve monthly instalments: they were to furnish a twentieth part in specie of the land-tax, as a sinking fund for the doing away the public debt.

The Government found it not difficult to borrow money. A meeting of the principal merchants and bankers of Paris was held, and he had laid before them the necessities of the Government, and the claims it had on the public, and hinted at a glorious peace. He told them the reign of plunder was ended, that intrigue would be abandoned; but that the public treasury must apply to commercial men for money until the new taxes were paid. The meeting of about seventy of the wealthiest men in Paris voted a loan of 12,000,000 of livres, and nominated seven to put the plan into immediate consideration.

Talleyrand resumed his place at the head of the foreign affairs. Citizen Gronville was sent ambassador to Holland, Citizen Bourgoing to Denmark. General Bournonville was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin, and Citizen Colchen his secretary of legation. Various other changes were made previous to a new system of diplomacy.

Many ideas occupied the minds of the French people with respect to the new constitution preparing. It was warmly debated, whether the sittings of the two legislative commissions should be public or private; some members contended, that if laws were received without a knowledge of the discussions which preceded them, the nation would not think itself free; that if the discussions were not public, there should be sittings open to every one, and there the ancient form should be kept as much

The Consuls present the Constitution.

as possible. Others maintained that the Council of Ancients and of Five Hundred should proceed rapidly, which publicity would check; and that all that was requisite was, to do quietly and do well. It was settled that the sitting of the commissioners should be private; and the patriots looked on it as an ill omen to the liberty of the country under the Consular Government.

At last, on the 13th of December, the following address was circulated, and gratified the curiosity of the public.

“ The CONSULS of the Republic to the French.

“ A constitution is presented to you for your acceptance.

“ It puts an end to the uncertainties which the temporary government occasioned in our foreign political transactions, and in the internal and military situation of the Republic.

“ It establishes, in its institutions, the appointment of the first magistrates, whose devoted zeal has been thought necessary to its activity.

“ The constitution is grounded on the true principles of a representative government, on the sacred rights of property, of equality, and of liberty.

“ The powers which it institutes will be vigorous and permanent, such as they should be to ensure the rights of citizens, and the interests of the state.

“ Citizens! the revolution is fixed on the principles from which it originated:—It is ended.”

The Constitution itself formed ninety-five articles, which were arranged in seven chapters. It was dated Paris, the 23d Frimaire, and was signed by the members

of the Legislative Committees: the signatures of the Consuls followed last. The following is an abstract of the the most essential parts of the Consular Constitution.

In the beginning it declares the Republic one and indivisible; that every man born in France, aged twenty-one, who has remained a year in the French territory, is a French citizen; and a foreigner becomes one who, after reaching twenty-one years, has resided there for ten successive years. Citizens of every district to appoint those to conduct public affairs.

The Conservatory Senate to consist of twenty-four members of forty years; to be immoveable for life.

The Senate to choose the senators out of three candidates.

The Chief Consul on quitting his office becomes a Senator; the other two lose that privilege by resignation of their consular functions.

The Tribunate to consist of one hundred members, renewed by fifths every year.

The Legislative Body to consist of three hundred members renewed also every year by fifths; one citizen of every department to be always present; their sittings to continue four months.

It settles the salary of a tribune at 15,000 francs, 625*l.* and a legislator at 10,000, 416*l.*

All decrees to be promulgated by the Chief Consul.

The Government is given to three Consuls, appointed for ten years; to be distinctly stiled, Chief, Second, or Third Consul. The Three Consuls appointed are, General Bonaparte, Chief; Cambaceres, Second; and Lebrun, Third.

The power of the Chief Consul is great; he is to promulgate the law, to name and revoke the members of

the Council of State, the ministers, ambassadors, and all foreign agents; the officers of the navy and army; to appoint all judges, criminal and civil, and justices of the peace; his salary to be 500,000 francs; the two other Consuls shall be equal to three tenths of that of the first.

In case of any conspiracy against the state, government may arrest the persons suspected as the authors or accomplices, but within ten days they must be discharged or brought to trial.

The house of every person in the French territory is an asylum; no person can enter it at night, except in case of fire, or at the request of those within; it may be entered in the day by law. Every person in custody to be forth coming to his friends with an order, unless the keeper has a judge's order to keep him secret.

The property of all emigrants belongs to the Republic; and the lawful purchaser cannot be dispossessed.

There are many other articles, which relate to local and particular points, but these are the principal public ones.

This was published at Paris on the 14th of December, with great pomp; and a decree followed, which ordered that registers of acceptance and non-acceptance should be opened for fifteen days, to await the signatures of the citizens.

The Analysis of the Constitution by Rœderer deserves to be preserved, as it can easily be committed to memory.

Much time was taken up by the legislative bodies in arranging the forms which should offer the authorities under the constitution to the people in great splendor. The Consuls and Conservative Senate were to enter on

The Troops swear to the new Constitution.

their duties the 25th of December 1799. The Consuls were to furnish the other legislative bodies with a guard of honour. The Luxembourg was fixed as the palace of the Conservative Senate, the Thuilleries for the Consuls, the palace of the Council of Five Hundred for the Legislative Body, and the Palais Royal for the Tribunate. Messengers and ushers were attached to the different classes.

It was not sufficient that palaces should be appointed for the new officers of the Republic: the pomp of official dignity was increased by the dresses which were decreed to be worn by the legislative as well as the executive; and all ranks were assigned their costume. Robes and habits of national blue, of light blue, of black, and grey—tri-coloured girdles, and various others; some fringed and some without fringe—collars and sleeves embroidered, some with gold and others with silver—some hats with gold tassels and some with silver tassels. These the legislative bodies of the French Republic selected and sorted out, and fitted into dresses by a senatorial decree, that the people could ascertain the dignity of the new rulers. The climate was also considered, for some were to wear velvet in winter, and silk in summer, whilst others were decreed to wear cloth all the year round.

When the Constitution was issued the troops were assembled, and sworn to be faithful to the new Government. The oath of the magistrates and citizens became a matter of discussion, which ended by a law, which reduced the formula of declarations to one only. It was decreed, that the government, the ministers, and tutors of youth, should make the following declaration: “I promise to be faithful to the constitution;” and that every other oath or declaration should be abolished.

Caricatures on the Ex-directors and Ex-legislators.

The Parisians viewed the splendor of the new Government with quietness rather than with surprise. They reasoned little, but hoped a great deal. Bonaparte was their idol, and they expected him to do every thing for the happiness of the nation. They joked upon the Directory, and indulged their humour in bon-mots and in caricatures: A pair of these prints were in most parlours in Paris. One of them was a Jew, with much finery and frippery, the costume of the Ex-directors, and Ex-legislators; he was crying, "Old clothes to sell, as good as new:" the other also was a Jew, carrying a load of constitutions and laws, and bawling, "Old constitutions and decrees to sell, very little used, and very cheap."

This suited the taste of the Parisians. In Paris, says an acute Frenchman, the French should be studied, because they are more French there than elsewhere.

Manners at Paris effect what the government produces at London; they confound ranks distinct in the state. All live in familiarity in London, the citizens are in need of each other; they are brought together by the common interest.

This effect is produced in Paris by pleasure; every man is welcome who can please; with this difference; equality is good when it arises from government; but the reverse when it arises from manners.

The French are always young in character; often amiable, but seldom sure. They pass from youth to decline. Their talents appear early; they are long neglected, and hardly brought into use before their powers are lost.

The Abbe Sieyes declines the Consulate.

CHAPTER LXXII.

CAMBACERES was the only one of the Three Consuls who voted on the trial of the King. His opinion was, that the King should not be executed, unless the Republic was invaded by a foreign enemy. He had more suavity of manners than vigour of intellect.

Le Brun, the Third Consul was a man of talents, and one of the members of the Committee of Ancients. He was secretary to the Chancellor Maupeou, the most arbitrary of the ministers of Louis XV. He united application to ability.

Sieyes was prevailed on to decline the Consulate; this was not difficult, he saw he was in the power of Bonaparte, who possessed most influence with the people.

A message was read to the Committee of the Council of Five Hundred, that the Consuls wished unanimously to decree to Citizen Sieyes a mark of national gratitude. "The Consuls of the Republic," it continues, "in order to carry your wish into effect, submit to you the proposition of decreeing to Citizen Sieyes the right of property to one of the demans of the state."

This, signed by Bonaparte, and Roger Ducos, was referred to the Section of Finance, who, in their report thereon, addressed the Committee of the Council of Five Hundred to this effect:

They stated, that doubtless it would have been ineffectual for Citizen Sieyes to have enlarged the minds of the

A national Estate given to Sieyes.

people by his writings, and to have yielded to the heavy burden of the office of chief magistrate at a time when danger made it worthy his anxiety to keep the French name unsullied; that it was doubtless enough for him that he succeeded in leaving the social edifice surrounded by the love of the people, and having the happiness of future generations in view.

But if nothing was wanting to the destiny of Sieyes, they feel it a duty incumbent on them to signalize the labours of that citizen; the gratitude of the nation requires it.

That it therefore is indispensably necessary that they pass a law, giving to Citizen Sieyes a proof of national gratitude, of which Government must be the interpreter; they therefore propose, that the national domain of Crosne, in the department of the Seine and Oise, or another equivalent to it, be decreed, with the right of property fully and entirely to Citizen Sieyes, by the title of "National Recompense."

This estate is about four leagues from Paris, in a charming valley near Villeneuve St. George. Part of it joins the seat of the ex-director Barras. On another side it is bounded by the Forest of Semart, famous for the hermits who dwell there, and being a hunting place of the former Sovereigns of France. It fell to the nation by the failure of Serilly, the Treasurer of War, who owed much money to the nation.

The resolution was immediately passed which gave Crosne to Sieyes, but he could not take possession of it during two lives, who had an interest in it.

Sieyes signified his acceptance of the estate by the following letter:—

Origin and Studies of the Abbe Sieyes.

LETTER TO THE LEGISLATIVE BODIES.

“CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES,

“The Minister of Justice has just transmitted to me the law, decreeing to me a national reward :

“Permit me to express, how deeply I am penetrated with gratitude to you for so honourable a mark of your esteem.”

(Health and respect.)

“SIEYES.”

Sieyes was born at Frejus, where Bonaparte landed when he returned from Egypt. He took orders and became a Cure. He was made a vicar-general, and then a canon; afterwards he rose to the chancellorship of the church of Chartres, and was invested with the employment of counsellor commissary in Paris. This was never given but to the superior clergy of France. He possessed much knowledge in the Belles-Lettres; his favourite studies, however, were politics, metaphysics, and economics. He spent most of his time in Paris, and associated with d'Alembert, Diderot, Condorcet, and the other Literati.

It is probable that Sieyes might not have risen from obscurity if the revolution had not made him display his talents. He sent out the publication entitled, “What is the Tiers Etât?” This work was the most fashionable book in Paris.

When numbers of troops were drawn about the capital, the deputies in the popular interest had reason to be fearful for their safety. Sieyes stated to the assembly, that no troops should be nearer than ten leagues to where the States General were sitting, and proposed an address to the King, to order the troops to withdraw from Versailles.

Sieyes voted for the Death of the King.

Before the month of October, when the King was attacked in his palace by the mob, a secret committee, consisting of the Duke of Orleans, Mirabeau, La Clos, and the Abbe Sieyes, was formed in a village near Paris. They meant to place the Duke of Orleans so that he must have the command of the populace, and possess a decisive weight in the National Assembly; Sieyes was then a zealous Royalist.

He was author of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, decreed by the National Assembly. When the Convention voted the punishment of Louis, a number of members waited till they heard his opinion. It was understood that opinion would decide the fate of the King. Sieyes at length mounted the tribune—an awful silence prevailed—he interrupted it with five words: *Je suis pour la mort!* “I am for death!” and instantly withdrew.

After this he lived quite concealed from the public eye, so much so that it was not known whether he was alive or dead. It was said, that from his retreat he directed many of the atrocities committed under the reign of Robespierre; but there is no proof of this. After the death of that monster, he published Memoirs of his own Life. From that time he began his most shining career; he was fixed upon to regulate the external affairs of the Republic. He suggested the idea of making separate treaties with the coalesced powers, in order to create disagreements that might hurt the royal confederacy. His plans for enlarging the Republic were unfolded in 1795; he advised the keeping of the Austrian Netherlands, and went to the Hague to conclude the treaty with Holland. So highly were his services held, that he was elected one of the five members of the Executive Directory, which however he declined. He was afterwards appointed a

Anecdote of the Abbey Sieyes.

member of the National Institute ; and strange it is, that he who declined a place as one of the Executive Directory, should accept a chair of literature at the College de Mazarine.

He is reported to have concluded the peace between the Republic and the King of Sardinia. This is probable ; so disgraceful a treaty to an independent sovereign could hardly have been wished for by his most violent enemies.

In 1797 he narrowly escaped assassination from a pistol by an Abbe Poulle. In that year he was so abused by lampoons that he was compelled to leave Paris, and did not return till the 4th of September, when he became one of the most active of the legislature. He was appointed Ambassador to Berlin, where he served the Republic by preserving the friendship of the King of Prussia, which continued firm during an arduous contest. He was paid much attention while he was there ; the King's birth-day occurred ; he went to court, but was late ; the Chamberlain was much perplexed where to place him without disturbing the other Ambassadors—"No matter," said he, "the *first* place will be that occupied by the Ambassador of the French Republic," and cheerfully took the first vacancy that offered. On his return to France the King attended him to the frontiers, and gave him his portrait richly ornamented with diamonds. On his arrival from Prussia he was elected a Director, and found little difficulty in effecting the late revolution with Bonaparte ; his influence was very great, and this he used to accomplish his designs without any suspicion of his being inimical to the constitution which he was determined to destroy. He does not appear to have possessed the affections of the French people ; they viewed him with

The Council of State arranged.

jealousy, and the assistance of Bonaparte was necessary to the success of his plans. Several of the constitutions formed were ascribed to Sieyes; he did much towards the Consular one. The great Edmund Burke wrote, that Sieyes had constitutions ready suited to every time and fancy, and gives a laughable description of his readiness at that work; so that, he says, no fancier of constitutions need go unsatisfied. Great patriotism is ascribed to him, for his having sacrificed his power to the security of the nation. He opened his mind to Bonaparte too far to retreat, and did not discover his error till too late; and he accepted the estate of Crosne because he could make no better terms with Bonaparte. He was afterwards chosen President of the Conservative Senate, and at last became a simple Senator.

Roger Ducos served with Sieyes; he was almost unknown till he was appointed Director, and, though an honest man, shewed little judgment; he was chosen President of one of the Councils.

History abounds with instances of men protesting against the abuse of power, who afterwards, on attaining it, prostituted themselves and sacrificed their supporters to all that was base. We know some of the professions of Bonaparte—how made, and how kept. Now, that he has attained sovereign power, we shall see if his other professions and his conduct keep pace.

The Council of State was arranged by a decree; it consisted of from thirty to forty persons; the First Consul was President, and in his absence one of the other Consuls; they were divided into five sections. When a law was drawn up, the Consuls were to be acquainted with it, and it was to be discussed by the general assembly of the Council of State. In case the Consuls approved the

The Consuls installed.

law it was to be sent to the Legislative Body by orators chosen by the Consuls. Each Counsellor of State was to have a salary of 25,000 livres. New appointments to all the public offices took place, and the list included the names of some of the greatest men of the day.

An immense croud assembled at the installation of the Consuls, on the 4th of Nivose; the Council of State had their first sitting, and the First Consul presided. In the evening a proclamation was issued. It was from "Bonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic, to the French." He stated, that to render the Republic dear to its citizens, respectable to foreigners, and formidable to the enemy, are the duties he contracted by accepting the first magistracy; that without order there is only confusion; but all is lost, and without justice there are only factions, tyrants, and victims; that moderation stamps a character on nations; that the Republic will always be formidable to the enemy, if her fleets and armies are well disciplined and commanded, and if every officer after long service meets the reward of his talents and services; on these principles depend the greatness of nations, and by such he will be judged.

But though he thus addressed them, he knew what was essential to their unanimity; the power that would unite the people was force, and the stability of the government depended on the French Army. The few citizens now armed might be crushed by a few regiments; the people had been disarmed, because every disgust excited a commotion; the soldiers were now separated from the people, and attached to the executive government. The troops of Cæsar overturned the Roman republic; those of Cromwell dissolved the sittings of the parliament of England, and the people were not certain that the French army

Massena appointed to the Command of the Army of Italy.

might not turn against their fellow citizens, at the entreaties of a bold chief. Bonaparte courted the army and the Generals; promotion gained him the applauses of his officers, and rewards and a proclamation flattered the vanity of the privates.

He tells them, that when he promised peace to France, he spoke their sentiments; they are the same men who conquered Holland, the Rhine, and commanded peace before terrified Vienna—that they must now invade the territories of their enemy—the first quality of a soldier, they all know, is to put up with inconveniences without murmur—that he will be gratified in letting the nation know the troops entitled to be proclaimed defenders of their country—that he will be among them and Europe, that they belong to a race of heroes.

Massena was appointed to the command of the army of Italy and was introduced to them by a message from the First Consul. This flattered the new commandant, and was well taken by the soldiers. Bonaparte had fought and conquered with them, and they hailed with enthusiasm a proclamation he sent them.

In this, he says, that matters which keep him at the head of Government prevent his being with them; their wants are great, but means are taken to assist them; some regiments, he says, have deserted their posts and disregarded their officers. The conquerors of Italy would have died before they deserted their banners, and would have made their young comrades remain faithful to their honour. They say they are often without their allowance, but what would they have done, if like some whom he enumerates, they were in the desert without bread or water feeding on horses and mules flesh. A new General (Massena) commands them; they know

General Augereau appointed to command in Holland.

him ; he will soon again render them victorious ; he will order a daily report to be made of the conduct of all the corps ; they will recollect his confidence in them.

This proclamation by order of General Massena was to be inserted in the orderly books and read to every company.

An elegant sabre, intended for the Grand Signior, was sent to General St. Cyr by order of Bonaparte ; in his letter he says, that the minister of war has acquainted him of the General's victory over the left wing of the Austrian army ; he begs him to receive as a mark of his satisfaction this beautiful sabre ; and desires him to let the soldiers know that he is satisfied with their conduct ; he sends him the commission of First Lieutenant of the army, and begs him to rely on his friendship and esteem.

Saint Domingo, in which insurrection had often reared itself, demanded the regard of the new government, and the inhabitants attached to France were gratified by a favourable address.

The Consuls state in this, that a new compact is formed to confirm liberty ; that one article expresses that the French colonies shall be governed by their existing laws ; that one of the first acts of the new legislature shall be to simplify the laws to govern them ; that the sacred principle of liberty and equality of the blacks, shall never suffer alteration ; and if there yet are men who correspond with their enemies, to remember that the French acknowledge their liberty and equality.

General Augereau had the command of the army of Holland announced to him by the First Consul ; he tells him that he has promoted him to be Commander-in-Chief of the army in Holland ; and he hopes he will shew himself above those pitiful debates which have caused such

A Proclamation to the People of the Western Departments.

dissentions in France for ten years ; that they belong to no faction, but to the whole nation : If circumstances oblige him to put himself at the head of an army, he will not leave the General in Holland, as he can never forget the action at Castiglione.

A proclamation also announced the march of a large force into the Western department ; it was addressed to the inhabitants of the Western departments, and says, that an impious war again threatens them, and it is the duty of the first magistrates of the Republic to stop its progress ; the authors of these troubles are traitors paid by England, or robbers eager to avail themselves of political dissentions ; to such men Government will shew no kind of indulgence ; but there are citizens dear to the country who have been misled, and to them they will explain the principles of the present Government. Unjust laws have been enforced, and arbitrary acts have alarmed the citizens ; many throughout France have been inscribed on the list of emigrants, though they have never even abandoned their houses.

To atone for these errors, the French nation has acknowledged a government grounded on the sacred principles of liberty, equality, and the representative system ; the constant wish of the first magistrates will tend to heal the wounds of the revolution ; that all the laws to which the people were averse have been repealed ; and many transported without trial are restored to their families ; the liberty of public worship is established, no one can interrupt it ; every department must be equally governed by the general laws ; but the first magistrates will allow more encouragement to those departments where civil war has raged ; Government will pardon those who repent, but whoever after this resists the na-

Bonaparte's Letter to the Magistrates of Hamburg.

tional sovereignty shall find no mercy ; it urges them to separate from those who would endeavour to mislead them and reduce them under a tyrannical yoke ; let the country people resume their useful labours, and not listen to those who would wish them under feudal slavery.

Some may be found, however, bold enough to provoke the civil war ; but such will not be the case, every man will feel the love of his country. The clergy will be the first to bring about a reconciliation ; let them teach these precepts they learnt from their Divine Master ; let them go into the churches again opened for them, and offer up prayers which will atone for the crimes of war and the blood it has spilt.

These addresses of the Government were received with complacency. They saw the Chief Consul had sufficient power to enforce his decrees, and, whilst his conduct was tempered by justice, no one had a right to complain that the refractory were punished.

Bonaparte received from the Burgomasters of Hamburg an appeal on the arrest of Napper Tandy, and his comrades in that city. They hoped that the Consuls would free them from the charges of insult to the French nation, and relieve the inhabitants from the apprehensions entertained from the violent denunciations of the Directory : his answer was as concise as the letter of the Hamburgers was verbose ;

“ Your letter, gentlemen,” said he, “ is no justification of your conduct.

“ It is by courage and virtue that states are preserved ; cowardice and vice prove their ruin.

“ You have violated the laws of hospitality ; such a violation would not have taken place among the barba-

State of the French Clergy:

“ rian hordes of the desert. Your fellow citizens will
 “ impute it to you as an eternal reproach.

“ The two unfortunate men whom you have given up
 “ will die illustrious; but their blood will be a source of
 “ greater evils to their persecutors, than could be brought
 “ upon them by a whole army.”

Their hopes were abated by the firmness of the Chief Consul; and they awaited the issue in silence.

When the Consular Constitution was adopted, there were in the Republic from thirty-five to forty thousand churches wherein divine service had been regularly performed. The Christian religion was not at any time extinguished in France.

Much dissention took place among the different orders of priesthood in France in the early part of the Revolution; the Constitutional Assembly decreed an oath to be faithful to the laws, the nation, and the King; and to maintain with all their power the Constitution. Hence arose the line of division between those who took the oath and those who did not take it. Almost all the bishops, many rectors, and others, refused to take it, and they were consequently declared to have resigned, and means were taken to supply their places: Many ecclesiastics who had submitted to the law, accepted the election of the people; they thought resistance to the law was wrong; and that the pastor was chosen for the care of his flock. Many priests followed the party of the dissentient bishops; they spread themselves over Europe: and those who remained in France kindled a civil war: those who had taken the oath organized the dioceses. The bishops used much pains in putting preachers to every parish; and unlike their predecessors, preached

The Sunday transferred to the Decade.

themselves ; and the clergy gained the good will of the well disposed part of the nation ; but when persecution shewed itself, the clergy who had taken the oath became the victims. Many bishops and priests were taken to the scaffold, and good and bad shared the same fate. The Bishop of Blois declared he braved the terrors of Atheistical persecution, and continued him to his duties as a Christian and a bishop, while in so doing, he for eighteen months expected to mount the scaffold. When the rage for persecution began to abate, he demanded liberty to re-organize worship, from the Convention ; he experienced some outrages, but the Assembly granted it on a report of Boissy d'Anglas ; they called a National Council, which was held with great solemnity on the day of the Assumption of the Virgin, and sat for three months.

The regulations of this council were put in force, while the Government, hostile to religion, had not given up the idea of persecuting it ; the voice of the people in some measure checked them, and they took another way, namely, to transfer the Sunday to the *decade* or tenth day of the month.

The bishops collected at Paris, made this project miscarry, and Gregoire contended against transferring the Sunday ; the clergy adhered to him, but this drew many outrages upon him ; what he had done, and the kindness of the friends of religion saved him from banishment, to which crowds of unfortunate priests were sent from Rochfort.

Against this Gregoire acted, and obtained some alleviation for his bretheren, but in accounting for their enlargement the dissentient priests never mentioned to whom they were indebted for this act of humanity. The

Joseph Bonaparte appointed Ambassador at Rome.

Consuls took care of religion ; a freedom of opinion, liberty of conscience, and liberty of worship promised a jubilee to the devotees.

The French nation had long been stiled Atheists, and stigmatised by every name hateful to religion ; and people were flattered by the regulations of the Consuls, which made them hope a revival of a most Christian Government. All ranks raised their voices in praise of the First Consul, and hailed him a true son of the church.

The Catholics now looked on popery as the national religion ; for as they said there was no salvation but in the pale of the Catholic Church, the Government could establish no other. Yet all sects hated each other, and none were content that the others should enjoy as much freedom as themselves ; each party anxiously wished to preserve an ascendancy in the state ; and each hoped to become the national church establishment.

A similar policy seems to have governed the Consul in his preference to the Catholics ; his conduct to the Pope was suited to shew his contempt of their opinions from his appointment to the army of Italy.

In 1797, the General got his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, appointed ambassador to the Pope. Joseph was as insolent at Rome as Bernadotte was at Vienna ; and upon an occasion of tumult, a French officer of his establishment was killed. No other circumstance was required to justify a new war with the Pope, which was immediately declared.

Pius the Sixth was arrested with about forty persons, and was ordered to march to the place of his imprisonment. In vain did this man of eighty-two plead, that they had not left him sufficient to pay for carriage : he was

Decree for burying the Pope.

obliged to travel on foot across the Alps and the Appenines, to Briançon, a journey of thirty-four days, during which he was frequently ready to sink with fatigue. On the 27th of June he was removed to Grenoble, and from thence to Valence and Dijon. He died at the former place, and was interred as a private individual: which offended the devout Catholics very acutely, but which Bonaparte turned to his advantage by issuing the following

DECREE FOR BURYING THE POPE.

“ The Consuls of the Republic, considering, that, for
 “ the last six months, the body of Pius VI. has been de-
 “ posited in the city of Valence, without giving to it the
 “ honours of sepulture;

“ That, though this old man, respectable for his mis-
 “ fortunes, was, for a moment, the enemy of France, he
 “ was only so from being seduced by the counsels of
 “ those who surrounded him;

“ That it belongs to the dignity of the French nation,
 “ and is conformable to the sensibility of the national
 “ character, to give some marks of consideration to a
 “ man who occupied one of the first stations on earth;
 “ decree,

“ 1st.—That the Minister of the Interior take care
 “ that the body of Pius VI. be interred with the honours
 “ due to his rank:

“ 2d.—That there be erected on the place of his se-
 “ pulture a simple monument, making known the dig-
 “ nity with which he was invested.

(Signed) “ BONAPARTE,

“ H. B. MARET, Secretary of State.”

The people attached to the Consular Government.

The Conclave met at Venice to name a successor to Pius VI. and Rome was subjected to a government of civil and military principles. The administration was entrusted to a provisional council, composed of Roman nobility strongly attached to the interest of the pontifical government: the Neapolitan troops stationed in the territory of Rome, searched out those called patriots by way of contempt, and confined them at St. Angelo, where they were conducted in the most ignominious manner: all that could be expected by the Romans was the appointment of a successor to Pius VI. which could produce no great alteration, since it was only a transition from a government that they abhorred to one that they despised.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

BONAPARTE's wishes for peace attached the people to the Consular Government; policy, therefore, called upon him to negotiate.

Much art had been used on either side to cast the blame of the continuance of the war on its antagonist; but the Allies did not incur the charge of a like duplicity on this occasion. The Archduke, expecting some overtures from the enemy, stated his sentiments to the Empire from his head-quarters. He said, that he felt himself of necessity compelled to speak on a subject from which great

A French Messenger arrives at Dover.

injury may result to the Germanic Empire; he regrets that the hopes of a peace has been founded on the late changes in France; they ought not to forget that if they wish for peace, they should prepare for war, and in that state the enemy will be more inclined to listen to reason:—by peace, every new faction meant the destruction of their enemies, and the late events in France are not calculated to give confidence. The late Directory is blamed there for not having carried on the war successfully, and for losing their old conquests in place of making new ones—they begin by talking of victories, and then of peace, which shews that matters are not yet favourable for the latter. He trusts they will feel with him the necessity of increasing their forces, and opposing an effective mass to the new troops of the enemy, and that only by an imposing military force can they prevent the enemy from making new and destructive attacks, or hasten that peace to recompense them for what has taken place.

Bonaparte, entertaining no doubt of the desire of the Combined Powers to enter into negociation, communicated his wishes to the courts of Vienna and St. James's. The Emperor was not so eager; and the Consul interposed the mediation of the King of Prussia, while Moreau was to urge the Archduke Charles, and the Prince of Colleredo was to remonstrate with the Imperial cabinet. Great Britain was equally interested, and Austria would not act without knowing the opinion of her ally.

On the 31st of December, a French messenger arrived at Dover, bearing a Letter to the King, inclosed in one to the Secretary of State, Lord Grenville, as follows:

Bonaparte's Letter to the King of England.

“ MY LORD,
 “ I despatch, by order of General Bo-
 “ naparte, First Consul of the French Republic, a mes-
 “ senger to London ; he is the bearer of a letter from
 “ the First Consul of the French Republic, to his Ma-
 “ jesty the King of England. I request you to give the
 “ necessary orders that he may be enabled to deliver it
 “ directly into your own hands. This step, in itself,
 “ announces the importance of its object.
 “ Accept, my Lord, the assurance of my highest con-
 “ sideration.

(Signed) “ CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.
 “ Paris, 5th Nivose, 8th Year of the
 “ French Republic, (Dec. 25, 1799.)”

Bonaparte in his letter to the King of England, says, that being called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the Republic, he thinks it proper to communicate it to His Majesty. He asks if the war is to be eternal, and if they cannot come to an understanding : that the two most enlightened nations of Europe, strong beyond what they require, sacrifice the happiness of their people to ideas of vain greatness. That peace is of the first necessity as well as glory—that France and England may for the misfortune of all nations yet retard the days of peace, but that the fate of all civilized nations is attached to the ending of a war which includes the whole world.

Lord Grenville in reply, says, to Monsieur Talleyrand, that he has laid before the King the two letters he transmitted, who seeing no reason to depart from long established forms, has commanded him to return the official answer which he sends inclosed. In this, he says, the King

Lord Grenville's Answer from the King.

has given frequent proofs of his desire for the restoration of tranquillity in Europe, and that his only view was to maintain the happiness of his subjects against aggression ; he has for these contended against an unprovoked attack, and is still obliged to contend ; to an indiscriminate spirit of destruction, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss Cantons, (his Majesty's friends and allies) have been sacrificed ; Germany ravaged, and Italy made the scene of boundless rapine ; and he himself obliged to maintain an arduous contest for his kingdoms. These have not been confined to Europe, but distant countries have shared in the calamity. Against such a system no defence but steady hostility can be availing, and to a determined resistance Europe owes whatever she feels of stability for property or the exercise of religion. His Majesty cannot rely on the renewal of general professions of peaceable dispositions ; such have been held out by those who successively directed the resources of France to the destruction of Europe, whom the present rulers declare to have been incapable of keeping the relations of amity and peace. That His Majesty will gladly rejoice when it appears that danger to his own dominions and those of his allies has ceased, and that all the schemes of destruction so dangerous to civil society, are finally relinquished ; but such a change can result only from experience.

His Majesty makes no claim to prescribe to France the form of her government, or in whose hands she shall place the authority to conduct the affairs of a great nation. He looks only to his own security, that of his allies, and the common safety of Europe ; whenever that security can be attained, he will gladly concert with his allies the means of immediate pacification.

Second Letter from the French Government.

That as no such security exists, he can only for the present pursue those exertions which the happiness of his subjects will not allow him to continue or to end, but on grounds conducive to their happiness.

“ Second Letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris, to Lord GRENVILLE.

“ Paris, 24 Nivose, 8th Year, (Jan. 14, 1800.)

“ MY LORD,

“ I lost no time in laying before the First Consul of the Republic the official Note, under date of the 14th Nivose, which you transmitted to me ; and I am charged to forward the answer, equally official, which you will find annexed.

“ Receive, my Lord, the assurance of my high consideration.

“ CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

“ Minister for Foreign Affairs at London.”

The official Note from the Minister of his Britannic Majesty had been laid before the First Consul of the Republic, who observed, that it rested on an incorrect opinion respecting the origin of the present war. France did not provoke it ; she was at the time occupied entirely with her own affairs, and would have avoided taking part in those of Europe : but almost all Europe entered into a league for her destruction ; the French nation was insulted in the person of its agents, and England set this example. He argues at much length on the necessity France was under of taking up arms, surrounded as she was and attacked by all the nations of Europe, and attributed much of what took place to the animosity of England. He concludes, however, by again repeating

Lord Grenville's second Reply.

his wishes for peace ; that every thing calls for the conclusion of so dreadful a war, and proposes a suspension of arms, and to name plenipotentiaries on both sides, to meet at Dunkirk, or any other convenient place, who shall apply themselves to effect a peace between the Republic and England, and offers the necessary passports.

ANSWER.

“ From Lord GRENVILLE to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris.

“ SIR,

Downing-street, Jan. 20, 1800.

“ I have the honour to inclose to you the answer which his Majesty had directed me to return to the official Note which you transmitted to me. I have the honour to be, with high consideration, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

“ GRENVILLE.”

Lord Grenville says, that his Majesty cannot forbear expressing that he observes the aggressions of France are defended by her present ruler ; but that he will not now enter into the dispute of allegations universally exploded ; that as to the object of the Note, he refers to the answer already given, that the inducements to treat relied upon in the French official Note, can be known only from the result of experience. His Majesty denies any desire to dictate to France the form of its government ; he looks only to the security of his own dominions and of Europe ; and whenever he is satisfied on those points, he will eagerly, with his Allies, negotiate to restore general tranquillity. To this he steadily adheres, and on these grounds only will he renounce that system of defence to which his kingdoms owe the blessings they enjoy.

Address to the King moved for in Parliament.

This forms a new epoch in diplomatic history: the First Consul scarcely slept on his usurpation before he resolved to tempt one of the greatest sovereigns of Europe to conspire with him. The apparent ease of the proceeding was calculated to inspire an unwary people with confidence in the honour of the Consul; but those who saw his letters to the Turks, and to Kleber, must look on it only as a measure of refined policy.

The papers relative to the negociation were presented to Parliament, and a message from the King accompanied them.

Lord Grenville, on moving an address in the House of Lords, in a very eloquent speech, reviewed the conduct of France. What the French Consul had advanced with respect to his eagerness for peace required some investigation; his lordship placed him in a very opprobrious point of view: he had commenced his opposition at the mouth of a cannon, and kept it at the point of the bayonet; to him he laid the bad success of the treaties hitherto commenced, and the misfortunes that now overwhelmed Europe; he concluded by reprobating him as a traitor and an Atheist, and that his wish was to destroy British commerce. The address was carried by a great majority.

It was discussed in the House of Commons, when several members spoke much to the purpose. Mr. Pitt, however, in a most energetic speech reviewed the conduct of the leading members of the French government from an early period; that the first outrage offered to France was attributed to the dismissal of M. Chauvelin; the French, by their murder of Louis XVI. ended the functions of his minister, and it would not have been consistent to let him remain when his nation had terminated his mission. He

Mr. Pitt's Observation on the Conduct of France.

entered into a long detail of the occurrences of the French from an early period of the revolution; their marching into Holland, pursuing the Austrians into neutral countries, annexing Belgium to their dominions, and seizing Savoy from the King of Sardinia. In all acts of oppression the name of Bonaparte appeared as principal. The attack on Egypt was made in the name of the French King, who had been murdered, and was pretended to be sanctioned by the Grand Seignior; their object was to attack the English settlements in the East Indies; and while negotiations for peace were going on, they sent messengers to the East, who were to recommend destruction to all Sovereigns, save their good and faithful ally, Tippoo Sultaun. They have been justly rewarded for their perfidy, by having no other sovereign in France than a rank Citizen Tippoo. The French Republic stalked forth the terror of the world; but while the people of England could handle a sword, he trusted they would not cease to oppose them. England was aimed at in all his plans. When the war with Austria was finished, he addressed his soldiers as the future Army of England, and told them more glorious laurels waited them on the banks of the Thames; while he addressed the Directory as follows:—"Citizens, we have humbled Austria—Britain remains—France and Britain are incompatible—now then for Britain." Such were the dispositions of a peace maker.

Mr. Pitt then enters into a detail of his conduct to the different states in Italy, which was marked by extreme ferocity and low cunning; his treaty with the Duke of Modena, and immediately after, the arrest and confinement of that Prince; his conduct to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, his seizing on Leghorn, and making the Duke

Mr. Fox replies in Favour of Negotiation.

pay all the expenses the French had been at in giving him this insult; his attacks on Rome, which even the Protestants looked on as sacrilege; and the tragic scenes which occurred at Venice; the great contributions he levied on that state, and then transferring it over to Austria, from whom, in his first proclamation, he meant to deliver it; and this was one of his greatest objects.

He saw no hopes of security in treaty with such a power—no possibility of a peace to justify the intercourse of real amity—and, as a lover of peace, he will not grasp at the shadow, when the reality is not within his reach.

Mr. Fox rose to reply. In this point of the war, when we were come to what we so anxiously desired, when negotiation was offered, we are to be told we must hold out. He lamented, with every friend to peace, the language in the answer to the proposition, as well as what had dropped in that house. He certainly did not agree with Mr. Pitt in many of his assertions; he still thought this country was the aggressor; France had been urged to what she had done. Austria and Prussia were aggressors; her unfortunate monarch himself and his advisers had entered into treaties with foreign powers to partition France, and to compel the French to abandon that system they thought necessary for their own happiness; Austria and Prussia declare themselves ready to attack France, and force the people to restore their ancient Kings—and this is not aggression!

Mr. Fox continued at great length to argue in favour of peace with France. He defended the steps Bonaparte had taken in Italy; he drew a lively picture of the horrors committed at Naples; and as the treaty was said to be signed by a British officer, he hoped it would be particu-

Great Majority for the Address.

larly inquired into, and the stain washed from the British name.

The house divided, when there was a majority for the address of 201.

The decision of the Cabinet of St. James's made the court of Vienna as firmly attached to the common cause as ever; but the German Empire was daily less convinced of the necessity of carrying on the war, and received nothing like voluntary help. Bonaparte continued to correspond with the Archduke, sending his aide-du-camp to the Prince's head-quarters, as he was prohibited from going to Vienna; but the arrival of General Kray to succeed the Archduke, made the hopes of peace vanish.

The French, defeated in procuring peace, were forced to seek it at the cannon's mouth. The determination of the Combined Powers to continue the war was made known to the Legislative Body. The address contained strong proofs of indignation against Britain: it said, that the French were anxious for peace, and that the wishes of the government have been for attaining it; to dismember France, to destroy its marine and its ports, to strike it out of the chart of Europe, or lower it to the rank of a secondary power; to divide the nations on the continent in order to gain the trade of the whole; for this horrible end it is, that England scatters its gold, and multiplies its intrigues.

The King of Prussia continues fixed in his Neutrality.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

ENGLAND and France were now the principals in the war, and each endeavoured to strengthen itself, and multiply its resources. On hearing of the death of General Washington, Bonaparte ordered all the colours and officers of the Republic to mount black crape for ten days.

The First Consul was attentive to the King of Prussia, whom nothing could turn from his inflexible apathy. He had remained neutral during the Directorial government, and it was not to be expected that the mildness of the Consular authority would alter his resolution. But Bonaparte left nothing untried to induce the court of Berlin to espouse the cause of the Republic, as the means of terminating the war. The King of Prussia, however, would not abandon the line of conduct he had hitherto pursued.

Bournonville was kindly received Ambassador at the court of Berlin, and the Chief Consul, through him, had the fullest assurances of neutrality on the part of Prussia. The example of the King was followed by the Elector of Saxony. The Imperial Cabinet solicited his co-operation; the late revolution in France had determined his choice. Sweden also evinced more friendly dispositions towards the Republic, and the neutrality of Denmark was confirmed by the example of Prussia.

Great Britain had laboured in the work of the Union with Ireland, and on the 5th of February, in the Irish House of Commons, a majority of 38 voted in its favour;

the division in the House of Lords was 75 against 26. The details occupied the legislatures of both countries till the 1st of August, when the Lord Lieutenant assembled both Houses of the Irish Parliament, and dissolved them for ever.

In his speech he communicates to them His Majesty's warmest acknowledgments for the ardent zeal they have shewn in finishing the measure of a union between Great Britain and Ireland. The proofs they have given of their attachment to the welfare of their country entitle them to the approbation of their Sovereign, and the applause of their fellow subjects, and afford them claims to the gratitude of posterity. The country, he has the happiness to tell them, has in a great measure returned to its former state of tranquillity, and if there should remain in some districts a spirit of disaffection, he thinks they will be merely local, and doubts not but they will soon be terminated. The great measure they have accomplished he is sure could never have been effected, were they not satisfied it would restore the tranquillity of the country, increase its commerce, and augment the resources of the empire; and he trusts they will not fail to impress these sentiments on the minds of their fellow subjects, and be studious to inculcate, that, united with the people of Great Britain, governed by the same sovereign, protected by the same laws, and represented in the same Legislature, nothing but industry and order will be wanting to ensure to them the same advantages under which the people of Great Britain have enjoyed more prosperity and freedom than any other nation. The empire is now so united and strengthened that it can defy all the efforts of its enemies; and he trusts the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland will remain in all

Massena appointed Commander in Chief of the Army in Italy.

future ages, the fairest monument of a reign distinguished by such various blessings, conferred on all descriptions of His Majesty's subjects.

The French Government having failed in endeavouring to procure peace, the most vigorous efforts were made for another campaign. An army of reserve, to consist of 60,000 men, was to be assembled at Dijon, the city which was to be the general rendezvous for the armies of Italy and Germany, from its central situation. Every man in the Republic had the most sanguine hopes of being able to dictate a peace at the point of the bayonet; and many, who were dissatisfied with the Consular Government, came forward with their services. Numbers flocked to the standard of Bonaparte without solicitation, and furnished themselves with arms at their own expense. The command of this army was given to Berthier, who had been Minister of War since the 18th Brumaire. His successor in this last office was Carnot, the ex-director, whom the Consul recalled, and who conducted himself by the dictates of an intelligent mind.

The former campaign in Italy ended with the capture of Coni, and the death of Championet, who Bonaparte disliked, and the retreat of the French army into the territory of Genoa, the only place of consequence in Italy which they now held. This place was so considered by the Combined Powers, that they attached the glory of the campaign to getting it from the Republicans. This anxiety was not surprising; for whilst the French had Genoa, they could assist their army in Switzerland, and secure a passage into Italy.

Massena was appointed Commander in Chief of the army, which was reduced to a melancholy situation, on the frozen summit of the Appenines. The war had re-

The Army of Italy in a bad State.

duced this army half of its original number. The military chests and magazines were empty, while the chief officers were unable to afford any material relief. No pay was issued for seven months, and the number of deserters was prodigious. Nearly 30,000 men perished by disease and famine, without having to face a single enemy. This army, therefore, had almost to be created anew; and the most unlimited powers were conferred upon Massena by the Consuls, both military, political, administrative, and financial. Nor was this confined to the army of Genoa, for the troops in the countries near the Rhine were nearly in the same condition; and in the heart of the Republic, soldiers were forced to subsist on requisitions extorted from the people.

When Massena arrived at Nice he had organized a considerable army, from the measures he made use of by the way. One whole division had deserted from insupportable misery, having returned to France in search of pay, clothing, and food. He was successful, by rewards and punishments, in making them unite themselves again to their respective standards.

The military were objects of pity to the people, who, a short time before, both feared and respected them. The higher classes were delighted with their wretchedness, and secretly assisted to compel them to evacuate the country. The Austrians enjoyed communication with Genoa through Italian refugees, by the connivance of the Genoese General, Assaretto, and by the Republican soldiers themselves, who were often tempted to sell their pass word to procure bread.

Massena was promised 60,000 men, but found himself with no more than 24,000, after the most indefatigable exertions. These he was obliged to extend between

Genoa blocked up by a British Fleet.

Mount Cenis, and the frontiers of Tuscany, more than 240 miles. He told the Government of France, that the danger was great which awaited him from this quarter, and that he could not save the Ligurian Republic should he be seriously attacked. A portion of their pay was given to the troops, and some clothing, particularly shoes, of which scarcely a single pair was to be found among them. The soldiers became more submissive, and ready to meet the enemy whenever it should be required. But the Austrians were not the only enemy with which he had to contend: the people in the Eastern territory of Genoa were in a state of insurrection for some months, and the disorders among the troops were urged as a pretext, although none was necessary to the Italians, when they saw the French retreating.

The Republicans, unable to suppress the insurrection in the East, were alarmed at a similar disposition in the West. Massena issued a number of manifestoes, which the rebels viewed with contempt: the first division of his army succeeded in checking the rebellion, but did not make them return to obedience, and few of the plans, which Massena judiciously devised, were successfully executed. Corn was purchased by him at Marseilles, but the vessels employed to convey it were captured by the English; this reduced the troops to short allowance, each man having only two ounces of bread per day! Relief by sea was prevented by contrary winds, and the harbour was, at length, blocked up by the British fleet.

The winter was, consequently, confined to a state of observation, through Lombardy, the Venetian states, Piedmont, and different parts of the Roman territory. The Austrians did not seem to be in readiness to open the campaign, although they could procure every thing

Genoa subject to Disease and Famine.

requisite for immediate hostilities. The French were sure the Austrians would not enter the field of battle at the very time when the divisions of the Austrian army were rapidly advancing to commence hostilities. The British forces, under Lord Keith, threatened the sea-coasts; the Republicans could not help admiring the secrecy with which Melas collected, in a few days, 10,000 men before Bobbio, as many before Tortona, 30,000 before Acqui and Alexandria, so that he could leave all his cavalry in Piedmont, besides a numerous artillery, and 20,000 infantry. The Republican army was only 17,620 strong, including in that number the troops who garrisoned Genoa, Gavi, and Novi.

The British fleet before Genoa was the signal for the commencement of hostilities, and the communication of the French by sea was now totally cut off. Before this, a quantity of wheat entered the port of Genoa, which prevented the city from asking an immediate capitulation. Next day 20,000 Austrians marched to Savona, where the Republicans had only 3000 men, who made a vigorous opposition, but were obliged to fall back on Cadibona, which the Austrians took, and threatened to cut off the communication of the Genoese army with France. The Republicans were saved from ruin by the exertions of General Soult. The Austrians entered the suburbs of Savona, the French evacuated the town, and retreated towards Albi.

The victories of the French over the enemy could only be viewed in the light of misfortunes, as they could not recruit their diminishing army, while their opponents could get all they stood in need of. Genoa was destined to surrender by famine and disease, and the Austrians had only to wait with patience. The army of Massena

Dreadful State of the Prisoners in the Vessels.

was reduced to 9500 men, to be opposed to an army four times as numerous ; but a more dangerous enemy—famine, rendered the situation of Massena truly deplorable.

In the beginning of the siege of Genoa, the prisoners taken by the Republicans, were sent back ; but the Republicans afterwards retained them. Massena sent them to the vessels lying in the harbour, humanely including them in the list, ordered to receive provisions from the Ligurian Republic. The sufferings of these wretched beings was dreadful, they converted their very knapsacks and shoes into food ! Multitudes expired amidst inexpressible misery ; while others plunged into the deep, and sought a watery grave.

Nothing that had taken place from the commencement of the Revolution led to more important consequences than Bonaparte's usurpation. The rights of man were no longer asserted in France, which for eight years held up the dagger to every one who dared to doubt the political equality of man, and traced every vice to the act of allowing "any individual able to exercise the sovereign authority." This could not fail to amaze Europe.

This led to a complete apathy in France, Germany, Prussia, Holland, and Flanders ; and even Italy itself in a certain degree, though the war still raged in that country and took up its attention. America and England only retained the appearance of regard for political truth, and the spirit of inconsistency was more evident.

Many had believed that the success of the French arms was favourable to their designs, and changed with every form that country had assumed, because in the proclamations it was always stated that the victories of France were to be extended.

Fickleness of the People of England.

The Government stamped every friend of liberty as a traitor, and the revolutionists thought a traitor only necessary to make a friend of liberty.

The taking the government by Bonaparte touched all parties ; his authority did not rest upon principles that the followers of liberty exploded ; the British Minister it was evident pursued the war to discomfit Jacobinism, and the First Consul had so much of that spirit, that he constantly pursued the same object, yet Mr. Pitt repulsed him as if he had really been "the champion of Jacobinism."

Those who mixed the affairs of France with the cause of liberty, professed it, for they imagined the success of France would lead to the permanent settling of governments approved by the people and acting only for their good, but the Legislative Body of France proved the voice of the people to be stifled.

The overturning of Republicanism by Bonaparte, placed the people of England different to what they were before, yet few observed the change ; numbers who opposed the Government formed themselves after the French fashion ; "Hatred to Kings," was their universal specific, and they mixed it with so much error and malevolence that the remembrance of the unfortunate House of Bourbon was hardly necessary to teach it to court all the talents that could be brought to support it. Directors without number, and Committees of Public Safety they could find at any time ; but a First Consul they were unacquainted with ; it was a novelty, and they must bear with an old King till they could find a new Consul.

The French Revolution shewed that a corrupt people could produce a pure government ; and the matter was equal to the people of England as well as those of France,

Troubles in the Western Departments.

for those who sanctioned the French excesses would have done the same, and bowed to a military tyrant in their own country, at easily as they admired him in another.

Much time was wasted in endeavours to change the mind of the Emperor of Russia, when his resolution to abandon the confederacy was declared in such a manner as deprived the Allies of all hopes of his co-operation. Bonaparte employed the active General Brune, *ci-devant* commander in chief in Holland, to allay the troubles in the Western departments.

These Royalists did not principally fight for the family of Bourbon, but against the tyranny of the Republic; and, when that tyranny was overthrown, they had no sufficient motive for continuing in arms. A truce was granted them by the French generals, which closed by an amicable adjustment. Georges and Frotte, two enterprising chiefs of the Insurgents were included in the amnesty; but it was afterwards discovered, (or said to be so by Bonaparte's generals) that the peace was treacherously entered into by the rebel generals and officers, in order to gain time, till a Bourbon prince could be landed: true or false, Frotte, and many others, were shot for the treason, and Brune announced the termination of the war in a proclamation.

Brune addresses his proclamation to the inhabitants of the three departments of Morbihan, Finisterre, and the Cotes du Nord. He tells them, that at length they touch on the termination of their calamities; that tranquillity springs up, where lately there was nothing but civil dissension; that the chiefs of these dissensions having heard the voice of reason wish to draw their country's attention to their fidelity, and that the Catholic priests must make peace and justice be heard: the most terrible enemies of

Proclamation of General Brune to the Royalists.

the French, were the French themselves. Torches were ready against Brest and its fleets, and Frenchmen were to be the executors, but the compact with the foreign foe has been trod under foot; and the rocks of Morbihan and Finisterre shall be more dreadful than tempests—concord is restored.—

He advises the sailors to return to the ports, which they formerly enriched with their activity; that Bonaparte wishes to raise the French to an equality with those days when they destroyed the English squadrons.

He advises the deserters to go and receive laurels at the frontiers; and the workmen who have laid aside instruments of husbandry to be quiet in their cottages, and resume their usual occupations; that the earth only waits for their labour and will repay them; that general peace will confirm innumerable blessings. He exhorts the young men to seize their share of glory; to enroll themselves in battalions which he will form, and he will acquaint Bonaparte that the men of Brittany are worthy their former renown. He wishes them to forget the past, and the term "Chouans" be banished from conversation; a new career opens, and all connected with civil war is forgotten.

The end of the civil wars sent a considerable body of troops to the armies. Carnot, the Minister of War, and General Moreau, had told the Consul that the campaign would much depend upon a blow being struck in Germany, where he had already added so much honour to his military talents. Fortune favoured this plan; for, when the Archduke left the Austrian army, the Aulic Council transferred the theatre of war to Italy. Moreau crossed the Rhine into the Brisgaw.

General Kray arranged his army in four divisions.

Moreau defeats the Austrians near Stockach.

Two armies of reserve were to be formed, by authority of the Aulic Council of Vienna, one to recruit the army of Italy, the other to be in Bohemia : and the Bavarian troops in the pay of Great Britain were assembled at Donauwerth, under the Duke of Deux-Ponts.

The Austrians fell back on Offenburg, while St. Cyr became master of Freiburg ; and another division was to take a position near Schillenger.

General Kray was undeceived as to the designs of Moreau, and assembled his army, which had been dispersed ; but so ignorant were the Austrians of the force against them, that they could not collect sufficient troops to face the enemy, though they had been all the winter preparing. The main army were afraid to advance lest the Archduke Ferdinand, Generals Ginlay, and Kienmayer, with their corps, should be cut off, they not being able to run so fast as the French ran after them.

Lecourbe fell in with some Austrian troops under Prince Joseph of Lorraine, near Stockach, which he defeated and pursued beyond that town, after taking a vast number of cannon.

The loss of the Austrians on the 3d of May, near Stockach, was upwards of 10,000 men, in which number 4,000 prisoners were included. The mode of attack of Moreau was not foreseen by the enemy, and the Imperialists sustained a great loss in magazines and baggage. So rapidly did the Austrians retreat, that the French could not keep pace with them. Kray was surprised at what he saw of the masterly generalship of Moreau ; yet he was resolved to stop the career of the French army, or make their advance cost them dear.

The whole of a country where he thought to make a strong defence, was taken by the French : he had to con-

Moreau again defeats the Austrians.

tend against the French army, determined to penetrate into the very heart of Germany. He got between Moreau and the object of his march, took a position at Moskirch, and waited the attack of the French General. At Moskirch the Austrian army was joined by the corps of Prince Joseph, General Grinlay, the Bavarians in the pay of England, and the Archduke Ferdinand, who in his retreat took three pieces of cannon and some prisoners from the French.

General Kray had near 40,000 men, General Moreau full that number. Both armies were in high spirits. Moreau had his antagonist before him, and arranged his army for an engagement, one division of it being commanded by himself and another by General St. Cyr. The battle took place on the plain before Grembach, of which the French soon were masters. The Austrians tried to turn the left wing of the enemy, and fought with desperate valour. It required all the courage of Moreau, and such men as he commanded, to meet them. Three times forced to change their post, they as often recovered their ground. This day would have been favourable for the Austrians ; but Richepanse, with the division under his command, turned the scale, and the Imperialists, were forced to retreat with the loss of about 9000 men.

Kray took the intervening line of the Riss, which he gained by forced marches, and where he meant to await the result of another battle, but the French did not permit him to continue.

Richepanse crossed the river, and took this strong position: his cavalry crossed the bridge at the town, in a tremendous fire, and gained the rear of the Austrian infantry. The Republicans had the good fortune of the day. The Imperialists were forced to retreat a third

The Army of Reserve marches from Dijon.

time, after losing 3000 taken prisoners, and 2000 left dead on the field.

Kray collected his forces around Ulm. He was joined by the corps of Kienmayer and Watteville (Swiss in the English pay) and other reinforcements, which increased his army to near 60,000 men. Moreau fixed his headquarters at Memmingen, augmenting his force by the troops that could be drawn from Switzerland. The French were attacked by the Austrians, when victory again declared in their favour, the enemy retreating across the Danube, with the loss of 2000 men taken prisoners. Kray not being able to check the French army, resolved to maintain his post at Ulm, in hopes to receive supplies from Vienna.

Kray collected his troops together, and crossed the Danube at Newburgh, as if he meant to make the enemy abandon the left bank of that river in the vicinity of Ulm. A battle ensued when the Austrians were forced to retreat, and fall back upon Ingolstadt; the French became masters of the electorate of Bavaria; Ulm was blockaded; and Moreau's army fixed its head-quarters at Munich, without farther trouble.

Many inferior actions took place between detached corps, with various success, but all served the French, as they led to what both Moreau and the First Consul were exerting themselves for, namely, to prevent Austria sending supplies to General Melas in Italy.

When the campaign was opened on the Rhine the army of reserve began its march from Dijon; the government announced it to be at that time 50,000 strong, and receiving reinforcements every day. The Chief Consul arrived at Dijon, and reviewed the army. Bonaparte promised his troops at Dijon, that in two decades he would

Difficulties in the Way of the French Army.

lead them to Milan! It was incredible; and the unbounded confidence of his army prevented such an assurance from being looked upon otherwise than the vapouring of a coxcomb. He performed his journey from Paris to Dijon in twenty-five hours, and immediately sent an account of his arrival to the Second and Third Consuls at Paris. Before the Allies knew of his departure he was in the Valais, at the House of Convalescence, belonging to the Monks of St. Bernard. There he continued three days, and made himself acquainted with all the local obstacles that he had to surmount.

From Mount St. Bernard the army began to meet with difficulties which might have been thought insurmountable, but enthusiasm conquered them all. They had to draw their artillery along narrow paths, in many places almost perpendicular; and over mountains of snow; a very small force would have arrested their progress, but they met no opposition.

If the Russians remained in the confederacy, there would have been a force left in the Val di Aoste to have prevented them crossing the Alps; but the Austrians had not troops enough to meet the French soldiers, and the talents of the General. The courage of the army of Italy occupied the attention of Melas, and the flower of the Austrian army, the whole winter; and, though few in number, required the vigilance of large forces to keep them from escaping. General Melas having blockaded Massena in Genoa, turned his arms against General Suchet, whom he had formerly separated from the main body of the French army. Suchet kept up a war of posts, which answered his purpose, that of gaining time; yet he was forced to retreat before superior numbers. The Austrians were on the frontiers of France, and Suchet

not being able to retain Nice any longer, gave orders for its evacuation, retreating across the Var, and leaving the whole maritime Alps in possession of Melas. The advantages gained by the Austrians from these movements was a temporary consternation in the southern departments, but which was presently allayed, by a proclamation of the Prefect of the department of the Var to the municipal agents.

He tells them that temporary successes, owing to numbers more than courage, have opened the road to their frontiers, and threaten the departments; but if they will force them they shall find their tombs; malevolence may for the moment excite troubles. As magistrates of the people they must know their duties; they must set an example. We desire them to get the citizens ready to defend themselves; to let every man become a soldier, and make use of every thing for defence; their natural situation enables them to defend themselves with their own means; they defend their freedom; let the love of their country awake in their hearts, and all be ready to obey the terrible cry of, To arms!

In pursuing Suchet, General Melas was promoting the views of Bonaparte; for as his troops advanced towards the Var, it led him from the mischief preparing against him, when he ought to have been present to frustrate it. It was of moment to prevent any communication between Massena and Suchet; but with an English fleet in the Gulph of Genoa, it would have been easy to have effected that, simply by securing the Col de Tende, and a small force would have secured that pass.

The power of the Allies was divided; the armies of Melas and Kray were at the extremities of a line of great length, and the French army between them, preparing

The Army under the First Consul reach St. Peter's.

to dissolve the confederacy, and lay it at the foot of France.

CHAPTER LXXV.

THE inhabitants, alarmed at the sight of so many soldiers, left their abodes, and sought safety among the rocks of ice and snow; they reached St. Peter, near the great mountain St. Bernard, on the 15th of May, General Berthier acting as Bonaparte's Lieutenant. The whole park of artillery was collected there. The mountain they had to pass over was 1800 feet above the level of the sea; it takes two days to climb up it, from the ice which constantly surrounds it. Those who travel here in general, have a long stick, a hatchet, and cramp irons to prevent sliding; they must also have food and guides. Many travellers are lost here both in summer and winter; huge and enormous blocks of ice roll from the top of Mount Voland, capable of burying 200 people.

On Mount St. Bernard is a monastery of Barnadins, a religious set of men, who have unusual opportunities of doing good. The monasterry looks like an inn; there are stores of comfortable and agreeable things, accompanied with kindness, which money cannot procure so well as articles of barter.

These holy men take great pains in instructing the canine species to reduce the accidents peculiar to the place.

Account of Mount St. Bernard.

Morning and evening the dogs are sent out, and if in their journies they hear the cries of any unfortunate creatures, they run to the spot, and use all the power of instinct to make them hope for assistance, they go quickly back, and announce what they have seen. A small basket is then put round his neck, filled with refreshing food, and proper people sent with him, to save the people from destruction. A sense of danger acted so strongly on the minds of the French, that they caressed these dogs, in such a way as shewed their apprehensions and their gratitude.

This mountain was enough to subdue the boldest veteran; no tree nor shrub reminds one of vegetation; no leaf offers a pleasing verdure; and birds never haunt these regions—it is wild and barren—a vast extent of snow, heaps of ice, and a frightful silence. Who could believe that men stay here, and make it their principal business to succour the unfortunate, who are often in these dangerous passes!

When in winter the paths are covered or spoiled, the guides come with their mules to discover the traces, and pass over it again and again, till it is practicable; this lasts four or five days, and if, as sometimes happens, a frost sets in, the monastery is provisioned.

This passage is not less dangerous in summer; the rains melt the snow in a manner scarcely visible! the traveller walks over large cavities, when on a sudden he disappears. A hard frost is preferred, for any one may then walk safely over the snow.

Till this time neither artillery nor ammunition had crossed the mountains; but an army is nothing without artillery; obstacles almost invincible presented themselves, but all was foreseen by the genius who conceived

Extraordinary Exertions to climb the Mountain.

this enterprize, and contrived every thing to carry it into execution.

The cannon, caissons, forges, &c. were immediately dismounted piece-meal ; a number of trees were hollowed like troughs, in which the pieces of cannon might safely slide, and five or six hundred men drew them up those tremendous heights ; the wheels were carried on poles, and sledges conveyed the axle-trees and empty caissons. Mules were loaded with the ammunition in boxes made of fir.

As an encouragement, from four to five hundred livres were offered for every cannon and its ammunition so conveyed. A whole battalion was requisite to convey one field-piece and its ammunition ; half a regiment drew the load, while the other half carried the knapsacks, firelocks, cartridge-boxes, canteens, kettles, and five days provisions in bread, meat, salt, and biscuit ; these might weigh between sixty and seventy pounds. General Marmont commanded on this occasion.

The Consul took no more baggage than was absolutely necessary. It took five hours to clamber as high as the monastery, where every one was indulged with a glass of wine ; this, though frozen, was delicious, and no one would have exchanged it for all the gold in Mexico. There were still six leagues to go, and the rapidity of the descent made that distance truly terrible. Men and horses constantly falling, and often recovering with the greatest difficulty.

Bonaparte entered the monastery, and staid there about an hour, and on leaving it exhorted these respectable hermits to continue to deserve well of humanity. His mules and horses were in the train ; he entered a path which some infantry pursued, the descent was so

They cross it, and attack Aosta.

steep that he was forced to slide down on his breach about 200 feet, and was very near being swallowed up by a collection of thawed snow. The holes into which the soldiers constantly fell, made this part of the journey worse than the ascending. They began their march at midnight, and did not finish it till nine o'clock in the evening. For fourteen leagues they had scarcely eaten, yet extreme fatigue and want of sleep made them forget their supper.

Before the Consul ascended the mountain he wrote to his brother Lucien, minister of the interior, a letter which reached Paris on the 23d of May. In it he says, that he is at the foot of the great Alps, in the midst of the Valais. The great St. Bernard offered many obstacles, but they are surmounted; the army is descending by forced marches, and in three days all will be over.

The advanced guard refreshed themselves a few hours, and marched to attack Aosta, the capital of the duchy of that name, the first town in Piedmont. An Hungarian battalion, which attempted to defend the town, was obliged to retire with loss, and a deputation of the inhabitants waited on the Consul with proposals to surrender.

The Army marched to Chattillon also in the duchy of Aosta; the enemy, it was reported, meant to resist at a draw-bridge built over a precipice, which infantry could not avoid in this road; the hussars attacked them so briskly, that the force who advanced to defend the pass were overthrown, and they lost near 300 men, and a three-pounder, the whole of their artillery. Had the French been matched by an equal enemy it would have been easy to have stopped them. In passing to Fort de Barre after the fugitives they chose the worst route. The

Attack on the Rock de Barré.

difficulties at this fort were truly great; this rock stopped the whole army, and four days would have exhausted all their provisions, which the passage of St. Bernard had left no means to supply. This rock was in appearance like a cone; the road is at its foot watered by the Doria, a deep and dangerous river, with high banks, which only serve for the habitations of marmots and screech-owls. Whether to attack the fort or seek another passage was equally bidding defiance to ingenuity; but the genius of Bonaparte inspired the troops. Some grenadiers hid themselves in the suburbs to avoid the cannonade of the fort, and through the casements shot all who shewed themselves. Art had left the Rock de Barre to nature; twenty-two pieces of cannon, some mortars, and 500 men, defended it. The French attacked it at eleven at night; the attack and defence were equally dreadful; for some time they were checked; they retreated without confusion, but lost a number of intrepid soldiers, killed or badly wounded.

It was discovered, that from a neighbouring rock they might, though with great difficulty, descend on the other side—a battery played on them as they ascended—before they got up they were exposed for ten minutes, which made them think of raising a light piece of ordnance, which by almost incredible efforts was effected, though the height was 1200 feet—this gun fired incessantly on the enemy's battery, which it commanded. Every stratagem was made use of which war allows—haybands were twisted round the wheels of the carriages, and the paved road covered with dung to deaden the sound.

The First Consul ascended the mountain on foot—fatigued by the exertion and the heat of the weather, he laid himself down in the open air and fell asleep—the sol-

Romagno carried by the Bayonet.

diers, as they passed, looked on him with peculiar interest, and were careful not to disturb that repose which, as it would seem, was forced upon him.

The army having got over the mountain of Albaredo, filed off by Ivrea, which furnished them with bread, wine, meat, and rice. Their hearts were elated with joy, and the remembrance of the privations they had endured were effaced.

Four or five thousand Austrians, collected in haste from Turin and the adjacent garrisons, united to about 2000, whom the French drove the day before, and intrenched themselves at Romagno. They were covered by a deep river, the bridge of which had not been cut down, owing, as it is imagined, to the contempt in which they held the invading army, from entire ignorance of its force as well as designs. They said that the report of Bonaparte commanding this army was false; it might be one of his brothers, at the head of a collection of Italian refugees, without artillery, and without cavalry, who were throwing themselves away, to turn or divert their main operations before Genoa. They boasted besides, that they only retreated to draw the French into open ground.

General Lasnes, with his advanced guard, put an end to their stories and hopes together. Romagno was carried by the bayonet; the bridge and redoubts cleared; and the dead and wounded were left on the spot, and the fugitives pursued in all directions; their cavalry faced about, charged the French infantry, but several regiments united and drove the enemy towards Turin.

Bonaparte, to conceal his designs, caused two divisions to threaten Turin, whilst General Lasnes proceeded to the Chiussella and the Po, and obliged the enemy to cross

The French Government establishes Communications with the Generals.

the latter, and take up a position on its right bank ; the division of cavalry, under General Murat, took the route of Milan.

On the eastern border of Piedmont, affairs were now in that state that the Consul wished. All Italy was open to him, and his distance from Milan was not great.

General Melas pursued the French and advanced towards the Var, to induce the royalists of the South, to raise an insurrection and employ the forces of General Suchet on that side the river ; the blockade of Genoa was entrusted to Generals Ott and Hohenzollern. The French, however, were not alarmed beyond Antibes ; Carnot had provided from fifteen to twenty thousand conscripts newly enlisted, who were to enter the Ligurian Republic by that frontier, under the command of Generals St. Hilaire and Rochambeau.

The French Government established the best communication with each general, so as to give rapidity to all their motions. Thus Suchet, though distant from the Army of Reserve, knew what was doing by telegraphic despatches, which Government sent where obstructions did not interpose ; and Massena, who was surrounded both by land and sea, and exposed to all the distresses of famine, received a packet-boat with intelligence, whenever the British cruisers were driven off the shore.

On the 6th of May General St. Hilaire wrote to Bonaparte from his head-quarters at Marseilles. He tells him that the news he has received from the army informs him, that General Massena defends himself at Genoa like a lion. He had made a sortie, killed 800, and took 1200 prisoners. That five vessels laden with grain had arrived in Genoa, and small vessels are daily arriving. To a flag of truce sent by the enemy the General replied, that he

An Insurrection breaks out in Cor-ica.

would fight while he had an ounce of bread, or a drop of blood in his veins, and bury himself in the ruins of Genoa, rather than give it to the enemy.

Massena hoped the First Consul might raise the siege by the middle of June, and that he might be certain of a supply from Corsica, which would enable him to hold out till then.

The French Government had formed a depôt there, and kept a small number of feluccas always loaded with provisions. Salicette, the friend and patron of the Consul, commanded Corsica, with a general's commission, and the supply of the magazine was entrusted to his care.

He soon found he had undertaken a mission of considerable difficulty; for the vigilance of the English prevented succours ever reaching Corsica from the coast of France; and it was known, by way of Leghorn, that Lord Keith had been informed, as early as the 24th of April, that Genoa had only fourteen days provisions in the city.

Salicette collected all the provisions that Corsica possessed for the national magazines; and did not bear in mind, that the island had already been exhausted to supply Malta, and enable that fortress to resist an English blockade; he therefore alarmed the inhabitants, who feared they should be reduced to starvation themselves. An insurrection took place, and General Salicette put himself at the head of his troops. The Corsicans got the advantage, and, instead of supplying Massena, he was obliged to write to that commander for a reinforcement, to deliver him out of Bastia, where he shut himself up.

A felucca was taken with despatches from General Massena, stating, that the Austrians and English shut him

The Guillaume Tell taken by the Lion.

up so close that he had not succours for himself. The Corsicans ate their provisions in quiet, and order was restored in the island.

La Valette, in the island of Malta, still held out, and the French occasionally got in a small vessel with provisions. A communication took place between Lord Nelson, the British Admiral, and the commandant, which gave the latter an insight into his real situation. His Lordship assured him, that a fleet of ships from France were all taken or sunk.

The Commandant was allowed to send some of his officers to Syracuse to see the captured vessels, among them was the *Genereux*, of 74 guns, Admiral Perrée, who escaped from Egypt, and was appointed Commander in Chief of the French force in the Mediterranean.

After the defeat of the French fleet by Lord Nelson, at the Nile, and whilst the shattered wrecks were yet blazing on the surface of the ocean, two men of war made their escape. These two were the *Genereux*, of 74 guns, and the *Guillaume Tell*, of 86, the latter got safe into Malta, and remained there ever since, to shelter herself from the English, and assist the place. The not being able to re-victual the place, made it indispensable that she should not exhaust the provisions; and it was determined that she should endeavour to save herself under the command of Admiral Decres. She was met immediately by the English ships, *Foudroyant*, *Lion*, and *Penelope*, whom she fought gallantly for three hours and a half, and then struck to the *Lion*, Captain Manly Dixon.

A letter from Antibes of the 15th of May, says, that "the Austrians have retreated from Nice, which they entered on the 11th. General Melas arrived with ten or twelve thousand men; they were under arms all night,

Gravieres carried by Assault.

expecting an attack, but at day-break they saw the Austrians defiling across the mountains towards Coni."

Orders were given to General Ott to push the siege of Genoa with vigour, and the English appeared between Marseilles and Toulon, and shewed a disposition to land.

The troops sent by General Moreau to join the First Consul, were at Altorf, near St. Gothard, when the army of reserve reached Ivrea. This hindered the Austrian General, Davidovich, from uniting with the Austrians in Milan.

The French may be considered as having moved to prepare and collect a force that might be ready for action; that was now done, and Bonaparte's plan was to favour the deception, and by distracting the attention of the Austrians, weaken their power.

It may be remembered that the Austrians took a position on the right bank of the Po, seemingly to dispute the ground between that river and Milan. Bonaparte was anxious these forces should not accumulate; for a spirited resistance of the Austrians at Milan would enable General Davidovich to feed the garrison with troops through the Grisons and the Valteline, and make him keep the French army at bay, till Melas had collected his scattered resources. General Turreau was directed to march to Susa, which could not but alarm Turin. The works of Gravieres were carried by assault; victory was long doubtful; the French at length succeeded, and the enemy capitulated.

General Lasnes marched towards the Po, as if to take a position at Asti; and from these movements the Austrians concluded, that the Consul meant to intercept the troops from Nice to Turin.

General Suwarrow made the greatest exertions in the

Bonaparte enters Milan to the joy of the Inhabitants.

last campaign to get possession of Genoa, and was gallantly resisted by Moreau on this spot. General Melas suspected Bonaparte of meaning to proceed the same way, in order to raise the siege.

The Austrians evacuated Novarra, a place of such importance that when General Suwarrow entered Italy, he sent forward from Pavia to take possession of it.

General Lasnes remained a day at Chivasso on the Po, and collecting boats as if to cross the river, and at night filed off to Vercelli. The Italian legion at Varello found the legion of Rohan, 600 strong, strongly intrenched; they fought with great bravery, and after much loss took 350 prisoners besides cannon and ammunition.

A bridge was constructed at Vercelli, in place of the one the Austrians had burnt, by General Murat, who pushed on and reached Novarra soon after the enemy had left it; of that place they took possession.

On the 31st of May Bonaparte arrived on the bank of the Tessino with a good body of cavalry, and some cannon, and reached the opposite side; the villagers brought some boats, and the troops passed quickly over; the road to Milan was quite open to General Murat, and the Chief Consul followed him close. No resistance was made to the French against their entering the city; its defenders shut themselves up in the citadel, and General Murat invested it directly.

The municipality waited on the First Consul with the keys, and the principal people of the city, with an elegant collection of ladies, greeted him on his arrival; the people followed, and all exclaimed, "Vive Bonaparte! Vivent les François!" The croud increased as they drew nearer to the town. They at last arrived within the gates of this celebrated city; the windows filled with

Description of the City of Milan.

beautiful Italian women, and the rich shops being open, shewed what confidence they had in the French. The Italians who favoured the French were many; and the Austrians and Russians made themselves much disliked by their austerities.

The citadel, in which were 4000 of the enemy, was surrounded by General Murat with his division. The Consul went to the palace of the Archduke, where there was not found wood enough to dry his clothes.

The national cockade was every where used for the Austrian. A number of sick and wounded were in the hospitals, and among them many French. Some bodies of Cisalpine refugees came with the French, who a fortnight back were told of the certainty of the place being taken.

The city of Milan was built by the Gauls in the 395th year of Rome; its principal strength is a wall and rampart, and a citadel of six bastions. There is a small hill near the town, the Bochetta, which overlooks the surrounding country, and the best part of the interior and exterior works. It is well fortified, yet cannot stand above a few days of open trenches, because nothing prevents the enemy from battering in breach.

Milan is large and handsome, it is near ten miles in circumference; the streets are wide, and its churches, especially the cathedral, deserve admiration. The chief theatre is so large as to allow 400 performers and forty horses to appear at once; its number of spectators may be conceived from this. The shops are like the French, and the dresses are not unlike. All in Milan gives an idea of splendour. One would suppose that war had wounded this place deeper.

Bonaparte arranges the Provisional Government.

The inhabitants are sociable and friendly to the French ; they are not so faulty as Italians in general. The cathedral, among its ornaments, has several lamps of pure gold and silver, and two pulpits of massy silver. The metropolitan church of Milan is next to St. Peter's at Rome ; the work of the outside is surprising, the number of marble statues of all sizes with which the walls are charged from top to bottom is immense.

The view from the lofty parts of this city is immense ; the whole of the Alps are seen ; the Grisons are also visible, and the defiles of the Tyrol ; nearer may be seen the whole of Piedmont, and a part of Liguria.

In seven days in Milan the army recovered from its fatigues ; pleasures of every kind could be had by those who could purchase them ; the distribution of the rations was good and regular, and better quarters could not be wished for.

The Consul prepared for his departure, after arranging the provisional government, and issuing two proclamations.

The first was to the army : it says that consternation was in the south of France ; the territory of the people of Liguria, faithful friends to the Republic, was invaded, and the Cisalpine Republic was the sport of the feudal system ; but they have marched, and the French territory is delivered ; they will restore liberty and independence to Genoa, and deliver it from its enemies ; they are in the capital of the Cisalpines. The enemy is only anxious to regain the frontiers ; he has lost his hospitals, his magazines, his parks of reserve. They will hear millions of men expressing their gratitude ; they will run to arms—march to meet them—oppose their retreat—snatch

Pavia taken by the French Army.

from it the laurels it has seized, and teach the world, that a curse awaits those who insult the territory of the great people.

The second, though dictated by the Consul, appeared to be from the provisional government of Milan.

It begins by congratulating their fellow citizens on the generous sentiments of the First Consul of the invincible nation.

The Cisalpine Republic is a free and independent nation. The catholic is the free and universal religion—all property without distinction is respected—all absent citizens are invited to return to their homes, as soon as the distance they are at will allow them—those excepted who took up arms against the Cisalpine Republic after the treaty of Campo Formio. The notes of the bank of Vienna are forbidden to be circulated; they are not to be current in private transactions, nor received in the public treasury. The inhabitants will judge, that the French armies, and the hero who leads them, have no other object than to restore freedom and independance back to the country, and should be eager to concur to the return of a peace, which is the chief good after liberty is re-conquered.

This was signed by three of the principal inhabitants, as the provisional administration.

The army marched in different divisions; Loison took the road to Lodi, the Cisalpine legion marched on Brescia, and General Duhesme took possession of Pizzighitone. General Lasnes took Pavia, and found large magazines of provisions, a quantity of powder, 500 pieces of cannon, and a quantity of ball.

Pavia was founded by the Gauls, but taken by the Romans, who were driven out by the Goths. In 1477, being

almost a mass of ruins, it was rebuilt, and changed its name of Tesinum for that of Pavia.

General Murat marched towards Placentia, where it was supposed the Austrians would give battle. The French got possession of the tête-du-pont, which was well defended, and took 100 men. The attention of General O'Reilly, who commanded the Austrians, was directed to the bridges across the Po. Murat blockaded the citadel, and General O'Reilly seeing his retreat cut off, united all the scattered forces he could collect, and attacked General Lasnes; he was routed and forced to retreat to Placentia with much loss.

The honour of passing the Po was eagerly contended for by all the troops; the advanced guard had no sooner crossed than the French attacked the Austrians with fury, but they stood the shock firmly.

Lasnes ordered the charge; his troops advanced with the bayonet, and drove them into the swamps; night came on, and they hoped to finish the work next day; the sun scarcely rose above the horizon when the advanced guards began to be in motion. Montebello was the scene of a most bloody combat, and taken and retaken frequently in the day. The French advanced guard, 6000 infantry and 400 cavalry, sustained the action for some time; several Austrian battalions and squadrons of cavalry bore hard upon them. The Austrians at length gave way; they lost 6000 prisoners, and 12 pieces of cannon. Several generals and officers of rank in the Austrian army were killed and wounded, and the ground was covered with the killed and wounded.

The pleasure of victory was greatly lessened by the intelligence the French got from their prisoners, and by the intercepted dispatches from Melas, that Massena

Massena capitulates for Genoa.

was reduced to surrender at the very time when orders were sent General Ott to raise the siege; Genoa, the prize which they fought for, was in the power of the enemy. At first sight this seemed full of calamity; but the gloom subsided on the arrival of a despatch from General Massena, when the terms of Capitulation appeared the most honourable:

Massena writes to the Consul, that he has received no relief from France or from Corsica; the people of Genoa were long without bread; the army had only six ounces, half bran and half maize; the greatest part of the horses had been eaten; he sends with his despatch eight colours taken from the enemy.

The articles, sixteen in number, were for the most part the same as articles in similar cases; they were, however, very much in favour of the French, who stuck out, that the Ligurian government should not be interfered with. This, however, could not be discussed in the articles, as it was stated to be purely political, and the General of the allied army could give no answer to it.— This capture cost the allies many thousands of lives, and much treasure, yet did not give them a long triumph, as General Suchet was rapidly advancing, and in several actions with the advanced guard of General Ott, had taken 7000 prisoners, and 30 pieces of cannon.

Lord Keith is charged by the French with not fulfilling the capitulation, on the ground that the artillery in the city should be given up to the Allies, and that 119 vessels found in the harbour, had entered it after it was in a state of blockade. We cannot vouch for the truth or falsehood, but it is of little consequence, as the armies were so placed, as to leave the issue of the contest to the chance of a battle.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

GENERAL Melas now saw the necessity of taking hold of time, and the divisions of his army advanced to secure the fortresses not yet surrendered. The Austrian headquarters were at Alexandria, and the Commandant of Turin was ordered to attack General Turreau. General Kaim was repulsed with loss, and the French General took up a position nearer to Turin.

The French head-quarters were removed to Voghera, which the army passed through on its way to Tortona. At the window where the Consul was, the French, in passing, saw General Desaix, and an Emigrant officer who came to parley with him. They endeavoured to shew by their manners the joy which filled their hearts. The cries of "Vive Bonaparte !" darkened the officer's countenance. What a change a few days had made in the fortune of those depending on the Allies !

The army took up a position round Tortona to blockade it, by divisions; the advanced guard quietly went round the town, and the day passed without any thing remarkable. If the Austrian Commander was doubtful as to what line of conduct he ought to pursue, this was his time to determine; the possession of Genoa gave him choice either to fight, or shut himself in the garrison he held; was his army equal to that of Bonaparte there was no doubt as to the propriety of venturing a battle; but

Disposition of the different Forces in Italy.

he would have been wrong to face him with an inferior force, because that enemy must weaken his power by extending operations, and he would do better to take the chance of receiving supplies to losing all by a defeat.

When the battle of Montebello was fought the Austrians had the principal fortresses in Italy, besides all the duchies of Mantua and Tuscany. They might keep these places as long as the French had done on a former occasion, and Genoa had now an English fleet to furnish it with supplies. Melas would not be worse than Massena was, and the Court of Vienna could have kept Savona likewise, and have reinforced them more easily than the French could have sent them by the Alps and Glaciers of Piedmont and Switzerland. The French officers say, the Austrians did not make these inquiries; they were busy doing nothing, and the Consul profited by their confusion.

It would appear that the French fought for Genoa, from a knowledge of its value, the Allies to gain a temporary triumph.

General Melas should not have forgotten, that so long as he held Genoa, his army had a retreat from the port, and to keep the communication with that city open should have been his chief concern. Bonaparte hastened to derive advantage from his neglect; he ordered the banks of the Po, opposite Valenza, to be guarded, lest he should escape that way; and the passes between Piedmont and Genoa to be gained. Massena and Suchet were rapidly advancing to annoy the rear of the Austrians, and the Consul, in his letter to the inferior Consuls, does not seem to be ignorant of the movements in his favour by the army of Italy.

In that letter he says, that they will see by the letters

of General Melas, which he sends, that orders were given to raise the blockade of Genoa the very day that Massena, who was in want of provisions, demanded a capitulation. He says, that they have a bridge at Placentia, and several places which he names are theirs. He sends them many intercepted letters.

The French army understood, that Melas had evacuated Turin, and was coming to meet them with 60,000 men. General Gardanne retired to take post at Marengo, on the plain of which his great body of cavalry would be of much service.

The Consul skirted Marengo, and all the time was seen examining the ground with attention, in turn meditating and giving orders. In the evening some deserters and scattered prisoners joined the French; the Consul examined them earnestly; they were surprised when told that it was Bonaparte who had been speaking to them.

The army passed that night at St. Julian's, at the entrance of the plain of Marengo. On the morning of the 14th of June some discharges of cannon roused them from sleep; all was soon in readiness. Gardanne was attacked at seven; the enemy shewed much vigour of preparation; a few weak points were touched on, but his intentions were unknown till late in the morning. Berthier was first in the field, and wounded soldiers arriving owned that the Austrians were in force. General Victor's division was drawn up in the order of battle. General Lasnes formed the right wing. The French army was in two lines, cavalry supporting its wings.

The Consul about eleven o'clock made haste to the field of battle. General Desaix was ordered to support Victor. The Austrians were careful of their position near the bridge on the Bormida; but the principal point

The Battle of Marengo.

of action was at St. Stefano; from hence they could cut off the retreat of the French, and they gave their attention to this point. The division under Victor began to give way, and many corps of cavalry and infantry pushed back. The firing came nearer, and a sudden and dreadful discharge was heard on the Bormida; the French were soon after seen retreating, carrying the wounded on their shoulders, and the Austrians gained upon them.

Bonaparte advanced, and urged all he met with; his presence encouraged them; his own guards no longer continued about his person, but near him shared in the battle.

The grenadiers of the Consular guard advanced against the enemy; although they were only about 500, they still advanced, and forced every thing in their passage; they were three times charged by the cavalry; they surrounded their colours and wounded, and having exhausted all their ammunition, they then slowly fell back and joined the rear guard.

The army fought retreating in all directions; the Austrians turned the right wing, the garrison of Tortona made a sortie, and the French were thus surrounded.

The Consul, in the centre, encouraged the gallant corps which defended the defile which crossed the road, shut up on one side by a wood and on the other by some thick vineyards of lofty growth; the village of Marengo was on the left. The French artillery, the little that remained to them, had but little ammunition. Thirty pieces of cannon, well served by the enemy, cut up the French army. In the midst of this slaughter the Consul appeared to brave death. The ground was driven up between his horse's legs, but he gave his orders with his

The French apparently have the Worst in the Battle of Marengo.

usual coolness; he was urged to retire, but discovered no change.

Marengo seemed the prize for which they contended. Gardanne flanked the corps going to attack it; the Austrians for a moment gave way, but being reinforced marched on.

General Kellerman, the younger, supported the left; a regiment of dragoons routed a column of Austrian cavalry, but was charged by superior forces, and was giving way, when two more came to its assistance, and took 100 prisoners.

The Consul, informed that the reserve of General Desaix was not yet arrived, hastened to the division of General Lasnes, to slacken its retreat; he tells them it was his practice to *sleep* on the field of battle. The enemy, however, advanced; the retreat was absolutely necessary, which took place in good order, though 80 pieces of cannon were playing on them; this did not annoy the firmness of the French, they manœuvred as though they were on a parade.

At four o'clock in the afternoon not more than 6000 infantry stood to their colours, and six pieces of cannon only could be made use of; one third of the army was unable to combat, and more than another third was occupied in removing the sick and wounded, from the want of carriages. Every circumstance was eminently discouraging to the French army; and it is like a miracle to state what a change in their situation took place within two hours afterwards; any person who would have then said so, would be looked on as insulting their desperate situation.

The divisions of Mounier and Desaix shewed themselves; they arrived on a gallop after a forced march of

Desaix charges the Austrians.

ten leagues, anxious to avenge their fallen comrades. The croud of wounded might well have damped their courage; but they only thought of rushing to glory.

General Melas was to blame for changing that disposition which had given him success; he extended his wings, thinking to cut the enemy off; not being able to find out what passed in the French line, and ignorant of the reinforcements they had just received, he brought on his own disaster. Bonaparte, whom nothing escaped, seized this favourable opportunity, and altered his plan accordingly.

When Desaix reached the heights, the Consul, the generals, and the staff, went through the ranks inspiring confidence. This took up near an hour, while the Austrian artillery was bearing upon their ranks, and many were thus killed without moving, except to cover their comrade's dead bodies. The signal for charging was at length heard. Desaix, at the head of a light battalion, threw himself upon the Austrians, and charged with the bayonet; all the French were in motion at once in two lines, and their fire carried every thing before it; and the enemy were every where overthrown. The French line presented a formidable front; as quick as cannon was brought up, they made dreadful havoc among the affrighted Austrians; they fell back, and their cavalry charged with fury; a powder waggon blew up, and their alarm increased; in fact all gave way and fled.

The French cavalry rushed into the plain, and advanced towards the enemy. Desaix trampled on all obstacles which opposed him. Victor carried Marengo, and flew towards the Bormida. The centre, under Murat, advanced into the plain; he much annoyed the Austrian centre, and kept a great body of cavalry in check.

Desaix killed in the Moment of Victory.

Desaix cut off the Austrian left wing entirely, and at the instant of his triumph, after saving the army, and perhaps his country, this brave man received a mortal wound in the head from a bullet. When the news of his death was taken to the Consul in the heat of action, he exclaimed, "Why have I not time to weep?" His death, being universally beloved, gave the army fresh ardour; to avenge it they fell on the second line of Austrian infantry, who met them with great steadiness, and the victory was again long in suspense. General Kellerman made 6000 Hungarian grenadiers, two generals, and officers of the staff, prisoners.

Night coming on the Austrians were all in disorder; all crowded together near the centre, and many were thrown into the river off the bridge. Their artillery was of hurt to them, as it intercepted their passage. Murat seeing the utility of urging their retreat made the French cavalry advance, and General Lasnes marched against that line, and, supported by the artillery under Marmont, got before some of the flying infantry, who had no alternative left but to be made prisoners, or be cut to pieces.

The third line of Austrian cavalry, wishing to save the infantry, came up; a ditch separated the combatants; the French crossed it, and immediately surrounded the two first platoons; the Austrians were thrown in disorder, the pursuit continued, and they made a great many prisoners; the Austrian rear-guard was cut to pieces. At last night setting in, and the extreme fatigue of the horses, made Murat think he ought not to expose his troops more after so successful a day's work.

One of the French Generals, Berthier, says, that night alone saved the Austrian army; this may be, but they

State of the Troops after the Battle of Marengo.

could have borne more hunger and fatigue equally with the French. They had, however, been fourteen hours within musket shot of each other, and wanted rest. Victory waved on each side four times in the day, and 60 pieces of cannon were alternately won and lost. When the battle ended the French had taken 12 standards, 26 pieces of cannon, and 7,000 prisoners. The Austrians lost seven generals, 400 officers, and 8000 men killed or wounded. The French lost Generals Desaix and Watrin killed, four generals of brigade wounded, and 3000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners.

Numbers of the wounded, owing to the darkness, were left on the field of battle. Ten o'clock struck by the clock at Marengo when the French were returning slowly towards St. Julian. Numbers, oppressed with fatigue, dosed on their horses' backs, but were roused every moment by the cries of those who, scattered in the fields, implored assistance. Horses on three legs called to them by their instinctive neighings, and they were obliged every minute to turn out of the way to avoid treading on the wounded; the darkness made the picture dreadful. Prisoners wandering at random, if met by the French carrying their wounded companions, were forced to bear the burdens.

A Frenchman, who wrote an account of the campaign, says, that every one put himself away as well as he could without the piercing cries of the dying preventing sleep. Hunger prevailing, next morning he entered, he says, the great court to seek for something for himself and his horse; he there saw more than 3000 French and Austrians heaped in all parts of the place, uttering exclamations against the surgeons, who were too few to dress all the wounded; all begged of him something to eat or

Strength of the Armies before the Battle of Marengo.

drink, and all he could do was to fetch them some water, and this he continued to do for two hours, forgetful both of himself and his horse.

Substance and necessaries soon arrived, and carriages to convey the sick; there was no distinction, French and Austrians were mixed together, who, but a few hours before would have cut each others throats; from the same hands, and in the same chamber, they received the help and care of humanity.

The writer above-mentioned (M. Petit) says, that the priests of Alexandria shewed great cruelty towards the French; at the early part of the action, when some French prisoners were taken to Alexandria, the priests had the bells rung, and shouts of joy assailed the prisoners; but soon after, in two hours, when things were changed, their conduct was different. The Austrians, he says, were guilty of the most violent excesses towards their prisoners; they stripped them completely, and snatched the rings out of the ears of many Frenchmen, and sabred several after they had been prisoners for hours. The treatment of the French to their prisoners was very different; no one was insulted, and all went quietly to Milan without being plundered, attended only by a few Frenchmen.

The French army, M. Petit says, may be reckoned, when the battle commenced, to be about 45,000 strong, with about 30 pieces of artillery. The Austrian army was from 55 to 60,000 men, including near 18000 cavalry, an immense train of artillery well provided. The French were not much encumbered with necessary requisites, their ammunition was on tumbrils drawn by oxen, and the little they had was soon expended.

This, however, was a dear victory to the Republic; but it saved the South from invasion, and France, perhaps,

An Armistice agreed on between the French and Austrians.

from frightful devastation. The loss of the enemy in this rapid campaign was said to amount to 60,000, including sick left behind and prisoners.

After one night's rest, the victors were informed of an armistice being agreed on between the French and Austrian Generals. Bonaparte directly acquainted the Consuls with this event. He says it was signed during the battle by Generals Berthier and Melas, and he hopes the people of France will be satisfied with the Army. Next morning the General entered into the treaty, which contained many articles.

It settled that there should be an armistice between the two armies, till an answer was received from Vienna; it marks the situations and places allotted to each army, and from whence they are to draw subsistence. All artillery of the Austrian calibre to belong to the Austrian army; all Italian, Piedmontese, and French calibre, to belong to the French. Provisions and forage to be divided equally between them.

A number of general officers of both armies are named to carry the convention into effect in all points. No one to be ill treated for services rendered the Austrians, or for political opinions; and all such prisoners to be released. Ten days notice to be given before hostilities again commence.

That day the Consul set out for Milan; he presented General Melas with a Turkish sabre from Egypt; General Melas told the aide-du-camp who brought it to him, that he was sorry peace was so long delayed; he would use his interest to get it effected, that he might go to Paris to see Bonaparte; he would even go to Egypt to see him.

The garrison of Milan marched out with the honours

Address from the French Government to the Army.

of war; the principal of them were chiefly French prisoners taken in Scherer's retreat; many deserted to the French.

General Melas and staff, with the first column of his army marched for Mantua, his baggage being a train of 4000 carriages; his other divisions followed. The French found at Tortona 120, and at Alexandria 200 pieces of cannon, and plenty of ammunition and provisions. The army from Genoa reached Milan, and an address was offered to them by their country. It was from Carnot, by order of the government, on the subject of the battle of Marengo: fame, he says, has blazoned through France the details of that day, which has decided the fate of that part of Europe. The army of reserve has done wonders; all the armies of the Republic will boast of having taken a share in it. All France deplores the loss of General Desaix, who is regretted by every good mind. This victory he pleasingly hopes may be the forerunner of a glorious peace, and the armistice granted by the First Consul is the first step towards it; he has acquired again the title of Conqueror to unite it with that of Pacificator.

Bonaparte sought to make himself agreeable at Milan to his devotees and his heroes; he gratified both by ordering proclamations and *Te Deums*; and they were willing to compliment him as the Grand Consul.

Moreau's Report to the First Consul:

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

THE convention of Alexandria did not extend the armistice to the armies on the Rhine, whose operations were not very extensive while the campaign in Italy lasted.

Moreau was not wholly unemployed in this interval, as it required great attention to enforce the requisition of horses and cattle, besides large contributions in money, from the territories he had gained possession of, to the amount of 700,000 florins.

The Austrians harassed Moreau's army on the side of Switzerland, and General Legrand was severely checked in the blue valley. The Austrians, however, kept on the defensive, and a French force advanced towards Ulm, when an action took place with General Stzarray, who was compelled to retire under that fortress.

Peace or war became interesting to the French, as on that question the movements of Moreau's army depended; and the Government announced every event as it occurred, in the shape of a bulletin; the first of these, in form of a report from General Moreau to the First Consul, may give an idea of the state of the contending armies:

It is dated from Dillingen, and begins by saying, that they have forced M. de Kray to quit Ulm. Their decided success enables them soon to determine the fate of Germany, and revenge the French name. He details the different manœuvres made use of to force Kray

Treaty between Austria and England.

to an action; that he had no means of constructing bridges on the Danube, nor had he any boats, the enemy having destroyed the former and sunk the latter.

Eighty naked swimmers, drawing their muskets and cartouch boxes after them in three small boats, got possession of two villages, took some pieces of cannon, and maintained themselves with great valour, while the pioneers laboured under a heavy fire in repairing the bridges, on which they passed succours to oppose the enemy's reinforcements; several corps passed over and were attacked by the Austrians, but they were defeated, and lost about 2000 men, with cannon and standards. The enemy were driven a long way; several actions took place, which he accounts for, in all of which the French were victorious, and took 5000 prisoners, 20 pieces of cannon, and five standards. He enumerates the officers who distinguished themselves, and to whom he is indebted for their gallant conduct. He concludes his despatch by saying, that General Kray has quitted Ulm, and is marching to attack him, but that he hopes to meet him half way.

The Emperor of Germany had no choice but an immediate peace or complete subjugation; but the evil genius of the Allies came in his way, and increased his embarrassments by making a new treaty with Great Britain, just before he received information of the battle of Marengo. By this treaty the British agreed to the loan of 2,000,000*l.* sterling, for which Austria was to pay no interest during the war, nor for six months after a peace with France; but after that time the Emperor to pay the interest. The two powers agree to carry on the war with all vigor, and to employ all their means; his Imperial Majesty engaging to keep up his army complete, and

Moreau determines to push on to Vienna.

the British engaging to reinforce the Emperor's army by as many German and Swiss troops as possible. They engage not to make a separate peace with France, nor to treat but in concert. The convention is fixed for one year.

The Emperor, though bound by honour and interest to England, and led both by inclination and interest to France, was induced, if possible, to get the armistice extended to Germany. Moreau suspected this, and determined to push on his way to Vienna, unless peace was immediately concluded. In a despatch to the Minister of War from Augsburg, he says, the enemy had united his army and wished to oppose him, but General Lecourbe was able to pass in the evening, and the next day advanced into Bavaria. Kray was at Oberhausen, and in person began an obstinate combat. The enemy were attacked with the greatest intrepidity, and defeated; and in the night effected his retreat to Ingolstadt. The Austrians, he adds, said that his army was invincible; the French never fought so well. He will receive details concerning their marches, and the attempts of the enemy to bring them to a negociation for an armistice under a pretence of the convention entered into by the armies of Italy, which would give them plenty of time to establish themselves in Bavaria. This, he says, he foresaw, and General Decaen set out for Munich, which he entered the day before he writes.

The Emperor's situation was now alarming; the French meant to surround General Kray as they had done Melas; he, however, avoided this by hastily retreating to Austria to defend the hereditary states; but Moreau followed the Austrian Commander, who passed the Inn, and fixed his head-quarters at Branhau. The French

A second Army of Reserve forming by the French.

reached Newstadt, and experienced no opposition. Kleinau, with 7000 men, was unable to resist the French, who had 13,000 men, and retreated under Ratisbon, while General Stzarray remained at Wurtzburg to defend Bohemia against Susanne; this latter, in attempting to get to Aschaffenberg, was totally repulsed.

A part of Moreau's army, commanded by Lecourbe, formed a junction with General Molitor; took the whole of the Grisons, and united with the army of Italy, part of which had gained the Valteline. A communication was thus established between the army of Germany and that of Italy, from the Danube to the Mediterranean.

The army of reserve was increased 150,000, and being unemployed in Italy, Berthier was ready to pour them into Germany, as Moreau might want them. The Government, however, it would seem, wanted to increase it further; the Minister of War writes to the Prefects and Generals, that the First Consul requests their attention to the departure of the Conscripts, who have not yet obeyed the voice of honour; that not long since, when the First Consul proposed peace to several powers, they wished to make a last effort, or try what a new government could do.

That government being now firmly settled, they will not surely reject the peace again offered to them; should they, however, be still deaf to their own interest, they must command that peace they now offer. The enemy should know this blow is to be struck; a second army of reserve is forming; crowds of conscripts join them from all parts of France; he desires him to cite this example to those youths whom indifference still retains at home; one effort more—if general, it will be short and easy, and will be unnecessary, if they are seen ready to make it.

The Emperor wishes France to treat with England.

The Emperor had no time to lose—another defeat, and the enemy might be in sight of Vienna ; he was compelled to sign an armistice, the forerunner of a definitive peace. After stating the powers of the plenipotentiaries, and the line of demarkation, it states that the fortresses within the line still occupied by the Imperial troops shall remain as they now are ; they shall be supplied every ten days according to their regular consumption ; an officer to be sent into each fortress to give instructions as to the conduct of the commandants ; navigable rivers separating the armies shall not be interrupted by either. The part of the states of the empire within the line of the French army, is placed under its honour with respect to the rights of property and the different forms of government ; the inhabitants not to be called to account for their services to the Imperial army. This convention to be forthwith sent to all commanders of corps of the two armies. There shall be no communication between the advanced posts.

Whilst this was in the course of being settled, and when it was signed, the Emperor used his endeavours to make France treat also with Great Britain ; and a meeting of plenipotentiaries from Austria and her Allies was proposed to France and her Allies ; this led to a discussion on a maritime armistice, which delayed the work of peace.

Bonaparte did not remain long in Italy after he had finished the campaign. He left Milan, and reached Turin on the 26th of June, where he received the division of General Turreau. He passed Mount Cenis by night, and proceeded to Lyons, where he was received by the constituted authorities, and waited on by the Prefect, and

Bonaparte's Reception at Paris.

the principal people of the place. He gave audience to the Chamber of Commerce, and assured them he would secure the success of their trade. He arrived at Dijon early in the morning; the Commander in Chief, General Brune, and the principal officers of the army, attended him to a review, and he encouraged the troops by talking of their predecessors. He breakfasted with General Brune, and reached Paris on the night of the 1st of July, having been only absent for fifty-eight days on a campaign, which, in a manner, laid the world before him.

When he arrived at Paris, the Consuls and all the senators and councillors of state crowded round him, to hail him on the glorious campaign. The guns of the palace of the Tuilleries and Montmartri announced his arrival. On seeing General Kellerman, he said, "Your son has done greatly;" and added, "I wish for peace, and so do the troops of Austria."

Paris echoed with the shouts of "Vive Bonaparte;" and a medal was struck at Lyons in remembrance of his visit to that city, where he laid the first stone in the Place de Bellicour.

The Emperor of Russia attempted to raise a hostile spirit in the north of Europe against Great Britain; he seized all English vessels in his ports, and sent their crews into captivity; and stopped all communication with that country, and the use of its goods in his dominions. He prevailed on Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, to unite with him against England; and to oblige that country to abandon the principle of maritime law, and to admit that free ships should make free goods.

Nothing could have happened more fortunately for the First Consul, whose ships were all blocked up. He hoped

The Anniversary of the 14th of July celebrated at Paris.

that Great Britain would allow herself to be bullied into concessions, which would make all the neutral nations his auxiliaries.

The French victories gave the Government an opportunity of yielding to the taste of Paris for public fetes, and exhibitions ; and it was determined to celebrate the anniversary of the 14th of July.

The standards taken at Marengo and by the Army of Italy, were presented to the Government at the Champ de Mars by Generals Lasnes and Berthier, with speeches. The Chief Consul, in answer, said, that these standards attested the genius of the generals in chief, Moreau, Massena, and Berthier, and all the French army ; he desires them to tell the soldiers when they return to camp, that the French expect peace ; and if the enemy oppose it, “ new standards will be the fruits of new victories.”

He invited those of the invalids who had received medals at the Temple of Mars, to dine with him ; there were two amongst them more than 100 years old.

To the flattery and adulation constantly offered him he hinted, that what he considered his price was not yet offered to him ; and he suggested the idea of his expecting some greater reward for his services. To a committee which was sent to him he declared, that when his Consulship was expired, and for a year longer, he would take nothing from the people ; but if after that period they should apply that article of the Constitution, which decrees a great recompense to those who signalize themselves in the service of the Republic, he would accept their kindness with gratitude.

All must, however, agree, that if he meant to mould the French people to his interest, he studied to be useful to them ; and we cannot help noticing the support he gave

Expedition from England to Quiberon.

the new system of weights and measures, suggested by the early revolutionists, and opposed by all the knaves in Europe. All parts of France complained against the variety of those in use; many Kings had tried to remedy this evil, but failed. The Constituent Assembly undertook to effect it, and declared there should be but one set of weights and measures in a country governed by the same laws. After much trouble this was established on mathematical principles. Men of philosophy were employed to bring the business to perfection, and at length it was brought to a bearing. Many, however, persisted in their old way, and refused to adopt the new plan; and public notice was given by the magistrates, that after three months all would be fined who sold by the old weights and measures; thus by perseverance the point at last was carried.

We must return to the western part of France, where the English Government again commenced its system of warfare, though the amnesty had in a great measure reconciled the people.

An expedition was fitted out in the English ports, which reached its destination too late. The English meant to get to the French coast in time to keep a large body of the French from going to Italy, but from what reason we cannot guess; Bonaparte got his army into Italy before the English were on the coast.

They landed at Quiberon and on the adjoining coast, and a few French joined them. There was no advantage from this, for General Bernadotte, with a few troops, drove them from the coast.

Georges, and another chief of the former insurrection, strove to raise the people against the Government. The English could not maintain themselves in the posts pro-

Count St. Julian signs Preliminaries at Paris.

cured for them ; their attempts were merely to annoy the enemy on a temporary occasion, not to gain any solid advantage for themselves or the people.

Bonaparte ordered the minister of marine to place the French Navy on the best footing ; and wrote a letter to the people of La Vendee to attach them to his government. In that to the Prefect of the department, he desires him to send him up a dozen of the inhabitants who have behaved best against the invading English ; he wishes to see those brave Frenchmen, and that they should carry back with them the testimonies of the satisfaction of the French people ; should there be any priests among them, to send them in preference.

The people of the disaffected departments were anxious to shew their loyalty to the First Consul ; and with sorrow we add, that many Emigrants, who had been fed by British bounty when driven from their homes, were eager to reconcile themselves to the Consular Government, by vilifying their benefactors.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

THE people of London were persuaded that the Emperor of Germany would carry on the war, and believed it, till news arrived that Count St. Julian had signed preliminaries at Paris ; this conveyed the idea that England was left alone in the contest ; the dread of invasion disturbed every good citizen in the kingdom.

The English ministry lost sight of the interest of the nation, and involved its fate in the concerns of the continent. A long altercation took place as to the terms of

the naval armistice; this, however, met its great difficulty, from the state of Egypt, and therefore we must look into the progress of the war in the East to that period.

General Kleber had delivered up several places to the Turks, when he was acquainted that Lord Keith would not ratify the treaty; he was therefore in a worse situation than when he began to negotiate, and the Grand Vizier had greatly increased his force.

At the expiration of forty-five days, the time agreed on, the Grand Vizier, adhering to the conditions, demanded that the citadel of Cairo should be given up. This the French General refused. By giving up the only fortified place he held in Upper Egypt, and shutting himself in Alexandria, he would soon have been forced to capitulate without terms. He determined to keep the power he held, and the letter from Lord Keith was the reason he gave his army for renewing hostilities. The English Admiral stated his orders not to sanction the treaty of El Arisch, and informed General Kleber, "that all ships met returning to France would be detained as prizes, and all on board them be prisoners of war."

On the 20th of March, in the morning, the French troops cannonaded the Turkish advanced posts at Maturia, two leagues from Cairo; their camp was at Helopolis. The Grand Vizier advanced, the French being drawn up in two lines; some Janizaries charged the French with much bravery, but were obliged to retreat. The French were 15,000 strong, with cavalry and dromedaries. The Turks could muster 80,000 troops in a few hours. For the short time the battle lasted it was fought with great fury; but the skill of the small number set the large at defiance. A dreadful fire of artillery and mus-

The French defeat the Turks with great Loss.

ketry, threw the Turks into confusion, while the enemy rushed on them; 40,000 men fled in every way, and they could not be rallied.

The Turkish commander was not secure in his camp; he was forced to abandon it, the French having advanced to cut off his retreat; they took 19 pieces of cannon and much camp equipage. The Turks are said to have lost 8000 killed, besides wounded and prisoners. The people of Cairo favoured the Turks, and the few French left in the city were put to death. This, most probably, would have induced Kleber to have demolished it, if it was not indispensable to him; with little difficulty he retook it, and laid it under a heavy contribution, and the General put the army in good humour, by bringing up the arrears of pay, and clothing from the plunder.

The rupture of the treaty of El Arisch by the English excited the indignation of the army. The Turks were not very formidable enemies to them. The people, surprised to see the vizier, the greatest man they knew, defeated, were satisfied that the endeavours of the Turks to get the country would be ineffectual; they looked on Egypt as the property of the French, and began to have confidence in them. The heavy contributions imposed on Cairo for its revolt paid the arrears of the army, and enabled them to wait for the time of the usual imposts for the current expenses. The regulations General Kleber adopted in all departments made great œconomy, and put a stop to much exactions.

Kleber, wishing to benefit by the good will of the inhabitants in Cairo, prevailed on them to raise a corps of 500 men; these he trained to arms and clothed in the French uniform, intending to augment them as circumstances should require.

General Kleber raises a Greek Legion.

This introduced a military taste ; but it was more desirable to induce the Christians and Mussulmen to enroll themselves in the demi-brigades, where they would sooner learn the French discipline. These enrollments became frequent in Upper Egypt ; one brigade soon recruited 300 men. Kleber raised a Greek legion, which amounted to near 1500 men.

There was great difficulty in procuring carriages when most wanted, as the Arabs who let out their camels generally disappeared. Kleber, to avoid this, had a park of 500 camels, which, when the troops were not in the field were employed on useful purposes. He purchased horses and camels for the cavalry and artillery ; he established flying bridges over the Nile, and settled communications between the different stations of the troops.

Kleber continued actively employed in doing every thing for the comfort and protection of the army ; he laid plans for works to be raised at Cairo, to keep the inhabitants in check, and command the avenues to the city ; he stopped many peculations on the soldiery whose situation he improved considerably.

The Turkish fleet appeared off Alexandria in May. Kleber, not knowing whether troops were on board, marched with a body of troops from Cairo, and at Rahmanieh was informed that the Captain Pacha wanted merely if possible to open a negociation ; he prohibited the landing of any Turkish agent, and returned to Cairo, leaving a flying camp to march to any part of the coast, or towards Syria.

The battle of Heliopolis was not followed by any steps against the Turks, still in power on the side of the Desart, and it would seem it was owing to General Menou, who

Reports circulated in Cairo injurious to General Kleber.

might have been the cause of the commander in chiefs not proceeding to more active hostilities.

General Menou for six months had orders to repair to Cairo for several purposes, but though by his answers he was always ready to depart, and was most anxious to meet the enemy, he remained at Rosetta.

When General Menou arrived at Cairo he objected to the command of that place ; Upper Egypt, where he wished to travel, was offered to him, but this he likewise objected to ; at length Kleber said to him in a letter, that having offered him the most desirable commands, he had only to add that of commander in chief. Menou chose Upper Egypt but still remained at Cairo.

Various reports injurious to Kleber and meant to deprive him of the confidence of the army were circulated through Cairo. The author of these reports was not then suspected, but Regnier says, there has since been little doubt on the subject.

When General Kleber was leaving Cairo for Bahmanieh, he wrote to General Regnier to take the command of Cairo, and watch Upper Egypt while he was on the coast. The express lost his way, and Regnier did not reach Cairo till Kleber had gone. Menou asked for the command of Cairo, which Kleber gave him, and advised him to consult with General Regnier, if there was any movement on the side of Syria. When Regnier arrived at Cairo, he gave Menou every information he possibly could.

When Kleber returned, he shewed Regnier a note he had ordered to be written in answer to a letter from Mr. Morris, secretary to Lord Elgin, sent from Jaffa ; he conversed with Regnier relative to how he meant to proceed with the Turks ; he purposed to decline all intercourse

General Kleber assassinated on his Terrace.

with the Turkish and English commander in chief, while he strove to open a correspondence with Constantinople ; by this means he hoped to be able to prevail on the Turks to consent to a neutrality till a general peace.

General Kleber having reviewed the Greek legion, came to Cairo to look over some repairs doing to his house ; he was walking with his architect on the terrace in his garden, when he was several times stabbed by a poignard. The assassin followed Kleber from Gizeh, and having got into the house with the workmen, seized the moment when Kleber was deeply engaged in conversation. When the news got wind, the generals assembled at the house of General Damas, where the body was carried. The assassin was arrested and examined.

The Sheiks and Agas of the city were sent for to examine if this had any more extensive plan. An aid-du-camp entered, to know if they were brought in ; and a discussion arose between Generals Menou and Regnier relative to a successor to Kleber.

Menou maintained that he was unqualified for the command ; that he was less known by the troops than General Regnier, and added, that he had already refused the commander in chief on other occasions ; he declared on his word of honour that he would sooner resign as a general officer than accept the command, and if it were imposed on him, he would order General Regnier to assume it.

Regnier observed, that the law ordered the oldest general officer to take the command till the pleasure of government was known ; that in the mean time he could issue his orders as commandant of Cairo ; as Menou came to no resolution, he took him aside and told him that the business should be postponed to a time of less difficulty.

General Menou takes the Command in Chief.

Menou insisted he could not take the command; that he was unknown to the troops, who were, perhaps, not in his favour from his change to the mussulman religion. Change of religion, Regnier observed, was no obstacle; it would make his authority more easy to the people of the country, and that all would assist him with their best advice; at all events he ought to take the lead at present as commandant of Cairo; this ended the discussion for that time.

The next day General Menou took the title of commander in chief ad interim, and General Regnier was appointed president of the commission to try the assassin.

After Kleber's interment and the execution of the assassin, Menou assumed the title of commander in chief: the army saw him succeed their former general with great reluctance; in several corps murmurs were heard, but the General appeased them, hoping that Menou's knowledge of business would cause him to direct the civil powers well, and that in actual service he would consult their military experience.

The French government had accounts of the renewal of hostilities in July, and this revived the hope of their being able to keep Egypt, as a Turkish army could not hope to recover it; the arrival of the account of Kleber's death was as mysterious as the General's assassination; it was announced in the Paris gazettes by two letters said to have been received over land from Constantinople; of the motives which led to the murder of the French commander, nor of their authors has ever any satisfactory account been obtained; but it appears that General Menou was not backward in accusing the Turks of the guilt of it.

Menou addresses a letter to Sir Sidney Smith, dated at Cairo, acknowledging the letter he wrote from on board

Menou writes to Sir Sidney Smith.

the Tigre ; he tells him, that as an execrable murder has deprived the French army of their leader, he has undertaken to command them ; that the Turks, unable to conquer the French at El Arisch, have used daggers which cowards alone make use of ; that a Janissary sent from Gaza committed this horrid act ; the murder shall be made known to all nations, who are equally interested in avenging it ; that he, like Sir Sidney, detests the horrors of war and wishes to see an end to its misery ; but he will act in no wise contrary to the honour of the French Republic and her armies ; that 150 Englishmen are prisoners of war at Cairo ; that as they were taken on the coast and without arms, he is certain the Consuls would have approved his conduct had he sent them back ; but the Turks detain Citizen Baudet, Adjutant of General Kleber ; though he went on a parley, and even among barbarians his person should have been held sacred. He says, he has been obliged against his will to use reprisals against the English, but they shall be released the moment citizen Baudet reaches Damietta, and shall be there exchanged for Mustapha Pacha and other Turkish commissaries ; his honour is concerned in settling this business, and it regards 150 of his countrymen ; he states, that he shall see the war which has so long disturbed the whole world end with an enthusiastic joy ; the French and English nations should esteem and not destroy each other, and if they treat, it must be on conditions honourable to both.

In Sir Sidney's answer, he expresses the most heartfelt sorrow for the tragical fate of General Kleber ; he immediately communicated the news to the Grand Vizier and the Ottoman Ministers, and nothing less than his details could make them credit the information ; the Grand

Sir Sidney's Answer.

Vizier has formally declared he had not the slightest intimation of those guilty of the assassination, and he is satisfied his declaration is the fact.

When the Captain Pacha shall have joined the squadron, the exchange of the aid-du-camp Baudet, may be carried into effect, as he is now off Alexandria, but he cannot see why he makes the release of 150 English shipwrecked at Cape Brulos, depend on what relates to himself and the Porte only ; he expects from his good faith and justice that Captain Bural, his officer and crew, will be allowed to return ; he expresses his confidence in the good faith of General Menou, that he is equally averse with him to the war, and wishes it was over, but that he in the mean time will prosecute hostilities as he has hitherto done, and strive to make himself worthy the esteem of his brave troops.

As General Kleber, he says, in the late preliminaries, agreed to, did not give him to understand the treaty should be ratified by the Consuls, it seems now like a refusal to evacuate Egypt ; and the Grand Vizier requires an answer on that head ; the evacuation of Egypt being an object of so much interest to the cause of humanity, the mode of doing it is still open ; if he refuses, they shall exert all their means to compel them to accept conditions not perhaps so favourable as those already agreed on. As the admiral, under whose orders he is, is at a great distance, he is authorized to agree to such arrangements as circumstances may require, and though he cannot offer any new proposition, he will receive all that may be made ; he will adhere to the instructions of his court which he knows is on the principle of equity and good faith.

There can be no suspicion attached to Menou of the

Monuments ordered to be raised to Kleber and Desaix.

knowledge of the assassination of Kleber, and the First Consul got a decree that a monument should be raised to preserve busts of Kleber and Desaix, who had perished on the same day ; the one, after procuring peace for his country by the victory of Marengo, the other, after confirming his country in its most valuable colony by the victory of Heliopolis ; this was a cheap way the Consul saw of shewing the value he laid on an insecure possession.

If ever France was thwarted by England, it was during the negociations for the naval armistice ; the alliance between the courts of Vienna and St. James's was as complete as possible. Francis saw that what he held was by the forbearance of his enemy, so that, like a forward child, he resolved to try that forbearance, rather than admit himself debtor for what he had experienced : and he was prevailed upon by the British to refuse his ratification, in hopes that the French might enter into a joint treaty with England, that the conquests she had obtained from France, might be set off against those which France had made from him.

A constant understanding was kept up between France and England, which gave Austria time to collect her resources ; for until France should have exhausted every reply the intricate discussion between her and England must inevitably call for, she could not well break the armistice with the Emperor ; but Austria seemed to be so far fallen, and to be destitute of so many other prerequisites, that time was to her of no value.

Bonaparte wished to send supplies to Egypt. Another French force in the Mediterranean would have enabled France to have made Egypt a possession of her own for ever ; and a powerful fleet and army, which, since the siege

The Consul determines to attack Portugal.

of Genoa had been up that sea, under the command of Lord Keith and General Abercrombie, was destined to take possession of the colony.

The Emperor was threatened with the rupture of the armistice in ten days, if he did not send an ambassador to Luneville, as the rendezvous for concluding a definitive treaty; and the Consul began by a species of under-plot warfare with Portugal and America.

America had appointed commissioners to settle her differences with France soon after the Consular Government commenced; but as the Consul had tasted the sweets of sovereignty, he assumed its airs; and shewed these commercial plenipotentiaries that they must wait and let crowns and coronets be served before them.

The tardiness of the Emperor and the disputations of the English, left Bonaparte no other amusements than those of the preparations making to delight the Parisians at the new year sports, and to console them for the fête of the 10th of August, which the Consul would not suffer to be kept that year: he, therefore, admitted the plebeian ministers to talk of their affairs at the season of leisure, and had them informed, that the way to gain his favour, would be to break their treaty with England. The good sense of the ministers prevented this point being conceded; but the farce of American negociation at once shewed the contempt that country was held in by the French Government, and the servility of a people who could not see what all the world saw.

The Consul determined to exercise his severity upon another ally of Great Britain, Portugal. Of Portugal he demanded certain things, which they could not concede without violating treaties existing between that country and Great Britain, whom they could not offend

The Breaking the Armistice creates Alarm.

without incurring the most serious disasters. This was of no consequence, all he wanted was a cause of quarrel. Spain undertook to mediate for the feeble state, and the British fitted out an expedition to defend it, should it be attacked. General Berthier was superseded in the command of the army of reserve by General Macdonald, that he might go ambassador to Madrid : but a dreadful pestilence broke out in Spain, which obliged the Consul to abandon his views for the present.

When the breaking the armistice was known at Vienna, the Emperor was thrown into the greatest alarm ; orders were sent to the armies, to prepare for immediate attack ; and the Emperor resolved to repair to them, with his brother, the Archduke John.

The conditions agreed to by Count St. Julian were little known, for it was settled that they should be kept secret till they were ratified ; and hence the Allies had an opportunity of declaiming violently against the unreasonable terms of the French. Peace was anxiously wished for throughout the German states ; and the Emperor issued a proclamation, laying the blame of hostilities to the French Government.

In this proclamation he states, that he has omitted nothing in his power to procure a solid and lasting peace for his dominions and his faithful subjects, and by his late measures has proved it : yet the French Government has declared the armistice at an end, which was concluded with that view.

Though the pacific assurances of the French Government still give a hope that hostilities may be avoided, yet he wishes to prove to the world how he regards the welfare of his people, by repairing with his brother the Archduke John to the army in Germany ; he, however,

The Emperor sets out to join his Army.

will accept any reasonable conditions of peace, and wishes he may be soon able to announce to his faithful people a termination of hostilities.

The French Generals were ready for war, and all at their posts. General Brune, who was appointed to the command of the army in Italy in place of Massena, declared the pacific views of his Government in a proclamation to the army.

He tells them their enemies still wish for war; that they repose under arms in hopes of peace; but that attempt is frustrated; their country calls them to new battles; he urges them to make their enemies repent having rejected the moderate proposals of Government; that Bonaparte penetrated the cause of the enemy's delays, and peace must be obtained by further conquests.

At the ideas of fresh triumphs he sees them elated; the enemy will soon learn that humanity has suspended their efforts; but this imposes new sacrifices. He urges them to regard the rights of those they are going to meet; liberty is their hope, and humanity and discipline may make them favour their arms.

The Emperor set out for the army, and immediately despatched a messenger to General Moreau, to propose extending the armistice for a few days to allow a courier to return from Paris with an answer; to this General Moreau consented.

The armistice was to expire on the 17th of September; on the 18th Moreau wrote to the Archduke John; in which he states, that he has that moment received the answer of the Government to the despatches brought from Vienna. He transcribes the words they are conveyed in; they desire him to tell the Austrian Commander in Chief, that the Emperor will not ratify the preliminaries, and that

Hopes of Peace lessened at Paris.

he is obliged to renew hostilities ; that, however, he may agree to an armistice for a month, if they put places of security in his hands. M. de Lehrbach will receive passports.

He observes that the First Consul is anxious for peace, as the renewal of hostilities depends only on the ratification of the treaty of preliminaries concluded by M. St. Julian.

He has given orders to General Lahorie to repair to the advanced posts to demand places of security. If his propositions are not accepted, hostilities will commence the day next but one at sun rise.

The hopes of peace were much lessened at Paris when it was known the Emperor joined the army, for the command was given to the Archduke. His Majesty took the sacrament, and leave of his family, before he left the capital. The treaty of Count St. Julian was published by the French, to justify itself.

It commenced with the wish of both parties to put an end to the war, and agreed that there should be peace between the Emperor and King and the French Republic—that the armies in Italy and Germany should remain as they then were, without extending—and his Majesty agrees to prevent all debarkation of the enemies of the Republic at Leghorn or elsewhere.

The treaty of Campo Formio is to be the basis of the definitive treaty, except the changes now necessary. The French to keep the limits of the Rhine, as agreed at Rastadt ; and the Emperor cedes the Frichthal, and all that belongs to the House of Austria between Zurich and Basle. No fortification of stone or earth to be raised within three miles of the Rhine.

The indemnities which the Emperor is to have shall be in Italy ; but this is to be reserved : but he is to be

Moreau concludes a new Armistice.

fully indemnified for what he cedes to the French Republic.

After the exchange of the ratification, a place of negotiation shall be appointed, and plenipotentiaries must be there within twenty days after the exchange.

The present articles to be kept secret till they are ratified. This was signed by the Count St. Julian and C. M. Talleyrand.

General Moreau addressed his army on the 19th, in a proclamation, wherein he tells them that the French Government had consented to negotiate for peace with its enemies. The Emperor has constantly refused to ratify the treaty made at Paris; and on the idea of a renewal of hostilities, has proposed to renew the negociation; their government consents to it, but demands places of security as a proof of their sincerity. This proclamation he orders to be inserted in the General Orders of the army, and printed in French and German.

The Feast of the 1st Vendemiaire arrived, and gloomy expectations filled every breast. The time was calculated when blood would begin to flow; and the levity of the Parisians gave way to the apprehensions for some beloved brother, son, or friend. Every heart palpitated with suspense whilst the Consuls were attending the funeral discourse in honour of Kleber and Desaix: but when the Minister of the Interior had addressed the multitude in the Temple of Mars, in a speech relating only to the feast, he surprised them by announcing tidings worthy of such a festival, contained in a despatch from General Moreau, received by telegraph that morning.

This was a telegraphic Bulletin, stating that he had concluded a new armistice; that Ingolstadt, Ulm, and Philipsburgh are to be surrendered within five days.

Ulm, Ingolstadt, and Philipsburgh, given to the French.

The Minister then read a note to the citizens assembled in the Temple of Mars : this tells them that preliminaries were signed at Paris, and ratified by the Consuls ; that Citizen Duroc was to carry them to Vienna ; but the Emperor refused to ratify them. The Armistice was of course broken off. General Moreau had orders to make known to the enemy's General, that if the preliminaries were not ratified in twenty-four hours, his Imperial Majesty was to surrender three fortresses to the French ; if not, hostilities would re-commence. The Government also informed the King of England, that his envoys would be admitted to the congress, if he agreed to a naval truce.

The Government has just received intelligence, that his Majesty the Emperor has consented to surrender the fortresses of Ulm, Ingolstadt, and Philipsburgh, which are now occupied by the troops of the Republic ; and that M. de Lehrbach has orders to repair to Luneville.

The difficulties of a maritime truce will cause some delays ; but if they cannot agree upon it, his Majesty the Emperor will treat separately for peace. And if the English party should influence the Minister of Vienna, the troops of the Republic will carry on the war to all extremity.

On the 19th September, Count Lehrbach and Baron Lauer were empowered by the Emperor to treat with Lahorie, general of brigade ; a convention was signed next morning, which states, that his Majesty the Emperor wishing to put an end to the war, gives up the places already mentioned to the French army, as a pledge of his intentions. Their garrisons to be allowed a free passage out ; the French to assist with carriages of every kind, which, however, are to be paid for by the Em-

Conferences about a Naval Armistice.

peror. There shall be an armistice for forty-five days, including fifteen days notice if hostilities should be renewed.

This convention to be sent to all the commanders of corps of the respective armies both in Italy and Germany, that hostilities may be suspended, and that its execution may immediately take effect.

In the conduct of Austria in this latter business we cannot see any thing great, except the greatness with which she ventured herself to oblige the English Government; for, though honour called upon her to obtain what the war was entered on for, that struggle took the character of a vexatious obstinacy, from the Emperor's being unable to raise the necessary supplies.

England had shewn a strong desire to aid the confederacy, and expended large sums for that purpose; and the English Cabinet having made it a point that the Emperor should make the last effort for a general congress, he wished to shew his obligation to that power.

CHAPTER LXXX.

THE conferences about the naval armistice continued until the 8th of October, when it was closed by M. Otto.

No doubt was entertained of bringing this matter to a

satisfactory conclusion ; but those hopes were dissipated from the time the Emperor determined to give up his fortresses. Several projects and counter-projects had passed between the negociators, when M. Otto desired a verbal explanation of the leading points in discussion, and in the course of conversation with Mr. Hammond, threw out the most pointed assertions of the determination of France, in the event of the naval armistice not being concluded, to pursue the course of her victories in Germany and Italy, and of the facilities which the conquest of Naples and Sicily (events which he regarded as inevitable) would afford to the French Government of obtaining, by force, those objects relative to Egypt and Malta, which disinclined the British ministry to agree to the armistice.

Bonaparte wished to separate the Allies, and resolved to do so. When he learned that the British were firm, he ordered the negociation to cease, as far as it contemplated the congress at Luneville. M. Otto informed the British ministry, that several important events, which had changed the basis the armistice had been proposed on, had determined the First Consul to end the negociation upon that footing ; but that he would receive any overtures relative to a separate negociation between France and Great Britain, the mode of which entirely depended upon his Majesty : that if the King should send a plenipotentiary to Paris, he was authorised to deliver him the necessary passport. That if, on the contrary, his Majesty should wish the preliminary negociations to be begun at London, special powers would be sent to him for that purpose.

Mr. Hammond, in a letter to Mr. Otto, dated Downing-street, tells him that he is directed by his Majesty's ministers to say, that they entirely agree that any further

The French take Leghorn.

discussion of a naval armistice would be superfluous—that with respect to opening negociations for a separate peace, his Majesty expresses the same desire he always has done for general tranquillity in Europe, but as he is determined to execute with punctuality and good faith his engagements with his Allies, he must decline any measures that would separate his interests from those who make a common cause with him in carrying on the war.

The continuing the war for the interest of his Allies, as here expressed, shewed pretty strongly that the Emperor was not sincere. The French suspected him; and the Consul took such measures as shewed that he should not act upon the peace before it came.

Count Cobentzel was appointed to meet the brother of the Consul (Joseph Bonaparte) at Luneville, and the armistice was observed by the main armies; but the French troops seized upon the states of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, because the Austrian armies were recruiting in his dominions, and the English ships took shelter in Leghorn.

Of all the powers that had entered into the alliance against France the Grand Duke had shewn the least zeal, and had acted most from necessity, and the ruin preparing for him was merely because he was a branch of the House of Austria. In this marauding excursion the French took a deal of property belonging to the English, Portuguese, and Neapolitans, and forty sail of ships in the port of Leghorn.

An English expedition was at this period on the coast of Spain under Sir James Pulteney—slight attempts were made against Ferrol and Cadiz, but no advantage was obtained. Spain at this time was smarting under two of the most bitter scourges, pestilence and famine, and war

Malta surrenders to the British.

hovered over her coasts ; but the expedition was planned and fitted out before the malady was known to exist.

News was received in France of the surrender of Malta to the British forces. The French admitted, that in blockading this island for two years and five days, the English shewed firmness and intrepidity. The French garrison and inhabitants suffered every privation ; they subsisted a long time on asses and mules flesh, which was 1s. 6d. a pound. Houses were searched for cats and mice, for food. ; a fowl cost more than 3l. ; a sucking pig, 500 florins ; an egg, 1s. ; and every thing in proportion ; there was, however, plenty of bread, as the French found on their arrival immense magazines of corn. Indeed, too much praise cannot be bestowed on the exertions of the British employed on this service.

Malta is an island between Sicily and the coast of Africa. It is almost 21 miles long and 10 broad, very rocky, yields little corn and wine, but plenty of cotton and fruit. The coral fishery is considerable. There is only one spring of fresh water in the island. The chief town is Valette, a very strong fortification, called after the Grand Master, John de Valette. It contained many convents, and was the see of a bishop. Its inhabitants are reckoned at about 20,000.

The island of Malta, with the two small ones of Gozo and Comino, belonged to an order of Knights instituted at Jerusalem in the twelfth century. The members were at first called Knights Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John, because they attended pilgrims in the hospital built by merchants of Amalfi. Being driven from Palestine they kept the island of Cyprus till the fifteenth century, when they removed to Rhodes, from whence they were driven by Soliman I. and sought refuge in several places, till the

Articles of Capitulation of Malta.

Emperor Charles V. gave them Malta, and the two smaller islands, as a fief of the kingdom of Sicily; here they were attacked by a Turkish army, but made them retire. The order is divided into eight nations or languages. The head of the order is styled Grand Master of the Holy Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and Guardian of the Poor of Jesus Christ.

The Knights must be all of noble extraction; commerce is no detriment if the nobility of the family be acknowledged. In 1770 their naval force was four gallies, three galliots, four ships of 60 guns, a frigate of 36, and several small vessels.

The Knights bind themselves by a vow to poverty, obedience, and chastity, which, however, where the knights are protestants, means fidelity to the marriage bed. In 1798 some of the Knights traiterously agreed to give the island to Bonaparte, on his way to Egypt, but the majority were averse to the French Government.

The French Commander maintained his post with almost unexampled firmness: but finding that resistance would be only vexatious, as appeared from the reasons stated in a council of war, he determined to surrender.

The articles were eighteen in number: the British fleet was to enter the port, when the capitulation was signed; the national gate to be occupied by a guard of both nations. The garrison to be prisoners of war, and not serve against Britain till exchanged—every thing public to be given up—all sick to be left behind under the care of French medical officers, and when recovered to be sent to France—no persons to be found fault with for their conduct under the French in Malta—all who wish to go to France shall be allowed to do so—six months allowed for the sale of property of those who do not remain. Very

Convention between France and America.

few of the articles were refused, and those only which regarded the shipping of the French, which were at or might come into Malta within twenty days.

The French regretted the loss of Malta, as may be seen by the pains to make a set-off of the treaty with America. The *Moniteur* was adopted as the Government Gazette; and when the French papers say, that the American treaty will console them for the loss of Malta, we may take that as the sentiment of the Government.

This convention with America was of great length, and related merely to the form to be observed by the ships of both nations with regard to their neutrality. On the whole, it was not a thing of any moment, and seems to have been done more with a view of lulling the Americans, than any other. America gained nothing, and France conceded nothing, by this convention. The latter power wished to appear generous at a small expense; both wished to serve themselves, but went the wrong way to do so.

The 13th article enumerates the articles denominated *contraband*, and states, that although they be found on board a vessel, they are only to be condemned, she herself remaining free. By this convention neither nation was to share in the fisheries of the other on its coast; but the whale fishery to be free in all parts of the world.

It was written in the French and English languages, and signed by three members of each Government. Joseph Bonaparte was at the head of the French plenipotentiaries.

England, with her irresistible navy, is very different from France and America; she was unmoved by this nonsense, and the Americans gained a little knowledge

The French employ Merchants in the Greek States.

in the art of quibbling, which may teach them, that neither can take the place of its opponent.

Since the Consulate government came into use nothing was left untried, which could possibly lead to the conquest of England, and none of the states could have done more to promote that than they have; if England had searched every ship on the ocean, and named the port she should sail to, or the cargo she should carry—her power is her protection, and to keep it she must use it.

The Consul and his court were totally indifferent as to right or wrong; they strove to obtain an acquisition of the first consequence, and they resolved to make extraordinary exertions if necessary. France has always sought to obtain by intrigue what it could not by arms, and the Consul hit on a plan to undermine the naval power of Great Britain.

His first wish was to persuade the neutral powers that they had a strong interest in resisting the British claim of searching neutral vessels, as much so as he had; but this was always found difficult; for the British always made compensation to the neutrals for their losses, though the cargoes were condemned as enemy's property; they therefore agreed to raise a bustle in the neutral ports, by taking up a quantity of shipping on the French account; the most celebrated merchants in the Baltic and America, and in the Greek and Italian states, were to make shipments for France. An immense quantity of timber and naval stores were purchased for the French Government, paid for by bills on persons in its service, and these goods were insured from capture by neutral merchants residing in those ports, that such property might get safe into France.

These people did not see, that this trade must be a very

short one, and that France could not make use of them when her arsenals and granaries were filled.

The Emperor of Russia took the exact direction the First Consul wished. The neutral states took up his cause by the Northern Confederacy, and Great Britain had to contend against nations united in powerful combination. They pledged themselves to resist the searching neutral ships, when one or more ships of war were in company. The Northern powers were to convey into France as much French property as the oaths of a set of unprincipled men could cover, whose only revenues arose from swearing to property they never saw, or never had the slightest interest in; and when the Consul had got so far, he treated the American Ministers with a dinner before they left Paris, to hint what was expected of them in a toast given by the Consul Le Brun—"To the union of America with the Powers of the North, that respect may be procured for the liberty of the seas."

The English ministers did not yield this point; a Danish frigate resisted, and fired into a British ship of war in the Mediterranean, although a fleet of Swedes were taken in the English Channel, under convoy of a man of war, which refused to let the ships be visited; but the Judge of the English High Court of Admiralty maintained the right of search, on the ground, that if free ships make free goods, it will still be necessary to search, to know whether the ship is neutral or not.

The English ministry here stopped, and the Consul strove how he could turn their moderation to his advantage.

Bonaparte strengthens his Power.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

IN the negotiations at Luneville a difficulty arose not thought of by the Allies. The Emperor had been accustomed to make the indemnities granted to different Princes the grounds of its treaties with foreign powers; and the city of Luneville swarmed with petty ambassadors, who wished to swell out the discussion till there was a chance of the war being rekindled with a hope of success. Bonaparte, however, was not to be outwitted in this manner; he had not forgotten, that after the peace of Leoben, the difficulties at Rastadt had recalled the Emperor into a war after near two years spent in recruiting his forces; the Consul, therefore, determined that the Emperor should make a separate peace.

While this subject was in agitation, Bonaparte was strengthening his power by every means he could bring to bear; he increased the splendor of his levees and reviews. He never appeared but on special occasions; and when he did, he took measures to ingratiate himself with the army, by his manner or some compliments to the regiment nearest to him. He was never approached but through his ministers, and thus he avoided the familiarity which republican ideas might encourage. None but people of rank or property were admitted to his presence; and no one that he spoke to quitted him without some mark of favour. Madame Bonaparte laid before

Report made to him on the Subject of Emigrants.

him a plan for settling the branches of both families, to strengthen their interests without annoying their ultimate designs.

Bonaparte made a great cry of the dangers his person was exposed to from conspirators; by this means he increased his police, and was not suspected of wishing to obtain any further elevation for himself; but made the royalists believe that he meant to restore the Bourbons without resistance. This he knew was their opinion, and he resolved to avail himself of their spirit of revenge to suppress republicanism; and on this principle he granted permission for more emigrants to return to France, than had been recalled on all former occasions. The Minister of Police made a long report to the Consuls on that subject, agreeably to previous orders. He states, that the general printed list of emigrants has 150,000 individuals on it; and there is a supplement to it, not published, to form a complete list of those accused of emigration; that many have been erased out of this list, who ought to enjoy the rights restored to them. He then states the different heads, under which they are classed, and is very lenient in the classification. After enumerating all those who he thinks ought to be exempt from the law against emigrants, he adds the project of a decree suggested to him by the Council of State appointed to discuss this subject.

This decree first discusses those who shall be struck out of the list of emigrants, and then states those to be kept in, viz. those who have borne arms against France; those who formed part of the civil or military establishments of the French Princes, or were ambassadors, negotiators, or agents, from powers at war with France, and a few others; and directs, that when they return they are

Bonaparte presents Moreau with a Pair of Pistols.

to be under the controul of Government for a year, and one year after a general peace.

The Generals repaired to Paris to meet the Minister at War, and consult with him on steps proper to be taken for opening a winter campaign, in case matters did not proceed well at Luneville. Bonaparte displayed his ease and elegance in paying a compliment to General Moreau, who waited on him as soon as he arrived. The Minister of the Interior attended with a superb case of pistols, highly finished, and enriched with diamonds, made by order of the Directory for a foreign prince; their beauty was much admired. "They appear quite apropos," observed the Consul, and presented them to Moreau; then turning to the Minister, he told him there was a fault, and desired him to have *some* of the victories of General Moreau engraved upon them, but not *all*, as that would take off too many of the diamonds, and though they were of little value in the General's eye, yet it would spoil the design of the artist.

While the Consul was putting his army on the best footing, by thus flattering them, the Emperor was no less busy in preparing for war; the Archduke Charles was to defend the hereditary states, and he addressed a proclamation to the people from Prague. This stated, that much as the Emperor and King wished to procure an honourable and lasting peace, and that the enemy would join for the same purpose, yet it was necessary to be prepared for the worst, if, against his hopes and wishes, their demands should force him to prepare for general defence.

The decisive moment, it was said, had arrived, and efficient means must be resorted to—great armaments were on foot in Hungary, and all parts of the Austrian

The Emperor of Russia claims to be Grand Master of Malta.

dominions, which were to be under the immediate command of his Imperial Highness. No choice, he told them, was left to them between disgrace and honour; and he added, he was sure, that by imitating their brave ancestors, the happiness of the country would be preserved.

The attention of both parties during the present, as well as the former armistice, could not but be occupied by preparations for war; for France would not treat with Austria along with any other power, and the Emperor would not treat without Great Britain.

A few in England and elsewhere, as their wishes guided them, looked on the latter power as about to be ruined and destroyed; for the powers of the North seemed resolved to proceed as violently as the First Consul, and prepared to second his ideas.

It was not in favour of conciliation that the Emperor Paul laid claim to the title of Grand Master of Malta, while the English favoured Baron Hompesch, a knight known to the order, whose gallantry gave him every advantage.

The Russians were much attached to the interests of England, from the intimacy between the commercial concerns of the two countries; and all the commercial classes were indignant against the tyranny of the Emperor, who was about to plunge a dagger into the bosom of the best friend of the nation. This thrown into the scale against the Emperor's wrath soon tossed it out of view. The English ambassador withdrew from St. Petersburg, and Lord Carysfort, the envoy at Berlin, told the Prussian ministry, that as there was no British minister in Russia, he took that opportunity to state, that much as he regretted it, if the Northern Confederacy was acted on, he would commence hostilities against those who composed

The Armistice between the Emperor of Austria and Moreau expires:

it. The English fitted out a powerful fleet, and appointed Lord Nelson to command it. A body of troops were to accompany it, to take possession of the Sound, and block up the Baltic.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

WE have traced the character of Bonaparte from obscurity to splendor, we have beheld him in different arduous situations, overcoming some by genius, some by policy, some by cruelty. In the field of battle he has been most conspicuous; he has shone so bright that envy cannot throw a shade over him. The bridge of Lodi, Mount St. Bernard, and Marengo, demand the tribute of applause. We wish to represent him as he is—our first wish is to do so—neither to praise him or calumniate—to lay partiality aside, and be the candid historian of his deeds—being but a man, he must possess the frailties of humanity—exalted so as to have all eyes fixed upon him, like all great men, he stands the object of praise and censure—and he eminently shined in both. It is, therefore, with difficulty we preserve that sincerity we were so anxious for: but those difficulties promise to be greater—his conquests are increased, his ambition is more extended, and his passion for dominion has made him more enemies.

The armistice between the Emperor and Moreau expired while some negociations were going on between this country and France, and the Emperor was obliged

Hostilities again take place between France and Austria.

to solicit a new truce. After some discussions between General Moreau and Count de Lehrbach, a further suspension of arms took place in Germany and Italy, for forty-five days. The cities of Philipsburg, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, were demanded from the Emperor for this indulgence.

A new rupture took place with the Austrians ; France, unable to force them to a separate treaty, determined to renew the contest ; and the Emperor, who deserved better on account of his fidelity to his allies, repaired to the army with the Archduke Charles. Hostilities being decided on, Augereau, with the Batavian army, crossed to the right bank of the Rhine, while Macdonald, in the Grisons, was to pass the Rhetian Alps with new succours for Italy.

During the truce Moreau had returned into France, and married ; but war soon called him from the joys of love, and in sixteen days he left his bride and was at his head-quarters. He addressed his soldiers, requesting them to shew the same gallantry they had displayed at the defence of Fort Kehl and the conquest of Holland. He now commanded the greatest army in point of numbers that was ever sent into Germany, and going to seek the enemy ; their advanced guards fell in with each other at Haag, and the Austrians had the superiority.

The Archduke John commanded the Austrian forces. He collected his strength, marched to meet the French, and attacked them vigorously. The action began at seven in the morning, near Hohenlinden, where the armistice had not long before been concluded.

This battle seemed worthy to determine the fate of an empire ; many untoward circumstances helped to make it fatal to the Austrians. Moreau ordered General Riche-

Moreau marches onwards towards Vienna.

panse to attack the centre column in flank at the moment it was commencing the action. This created great confusion, and the left being forced at the same time, they were obliged to retire at three o'clock, and Moreau so hung upon their rear, that night only saved them from ruin. More than 18,000 prisoners, near 100 pieces of cannon, and most of their baggage was taken; they retreated and fled with great disorder.

Moreau still marching towards the Austrian capital, pushed on to Salzburgh; this post was very advantageous, and was so thought by this able general; in his march he passed two rivers, the Salza and the Inn; the latter is deep and rapid, and Marshal Turenne thought it one of the strongest barriers in Europe. The retreating Austrians were able to impede Moreau's march from having those rivers to cross, and weaken his force. Still the French prevailed, and the Inn and the Salza were both crossed.

The Austrian army was mostly between Lauffen and Salzburgh. General Decaen found the bridge at Lauffen broke and the enemy on the heights which command it. Three chasseurs dashed into the Salza, notwithstanding the intense cold, and swam to the opposite side for some boats, while others advanced and fired from the ruins of the bridge. About eighty men passed the river in the boats seized, and took near 200 Austrians prisoners. This gave fresh vigour to the French, and struck timidity into the Austrians.

Five hundred men, under General Lecourbe, passed over a new bridge across the river, and were met by the Austrians in a large body. Lecourbe knew his inferiority and fell back. A severe action took place, but Decaen passed the river and kept up a terrible fire as he advanced.

The French march into Salzburgh.

ed. A division under Richepanse also passed, and formed on the right bank. The Austrians retreated in the night, and the French marched into Salzburgh at day-light next morning. General Richepanse pursued the Imperialists, and entered Newmark, the last post in Bavaria, on the frontiers of the Emperor's hereditary states. The Archduke John, who was at Braunau, was cut off from the Austrian General Molliter, in the Tyrol, who had 25,000 men, but no communication except with General Bellegarde.

Macdonald passed the Rhetian Alps in December, to support the Italian army under Brune. His perseverance was astonishing—he led the pioneers in person to the summit of the Splugen, filled up and obliterated by the drifted snow. He began the example of working a path, which was soon done; but some had no sooner gone over than the path was again covered, and his grenadiers, sinking in the snow, believed they could go no further. The poles put up for marks were covered with the snow which continued falling; but he advanced with the pioneers and found the road; he animated those about him, and at last gained the valley of the Adda, and opened a communication with General Brune, and thus became master of the bank of the Upper Inn, and of the Upper Engadine; this latter called also by the natives Engadina, is a country of the Grisons, and is divided into Upper and Lower.

In the mean while the Gallo-Batavian Army, under Augereau, gained some advantages over the Austrians in Franconia. When the armistice was broken the Baron d'Albani, with the troops of Mayence, attacked the Batavian Infantry. Augereau, hearing that the Austrians, about 12 or 13,000, had assembled before Bamberg, resolved to give them battle, and drive them beyond the

Great Consternation in Vienna.

Rednitz. They occupied two heights. They were driven from the first, but stood resolutely on the second, but at last were forced to relinquish it after much resistance. General Duhesme took possession of Bamberg; a bloody battle was fought on the 18th, which lasted from nine in the morning till evening; the loss was thought to be nearly equal on either side; an hundred waggons were loaded with dead and wounded Austrians.

Such was the state of things, when the Austrian army took a favourable position behind the Traun. The Archduke Charles took the command of the army with full powers, which had long been denied him. A battle took place, and the Austrians had great loss; they sustained another defeat by Richepanse, who drove them into the defiles of Lambach with great loss. The Imperial army retreated to Lintz within ninety-two miles of Vienna. The French advanced and made Wells their headquarters.

The French army now threatened the Austrian capital; their rapid successes gave no time to the retreating Austrians to recover. Moreau's plans were admirable and decisive; his celerity confounded his enemies; he followed the discomfited foe so rapidly, and with such perseverance, that they could gain no time to reinstate themselves. He pushed on in three columns, and forcing the Austrians to retreat from Lintz, he proceeded on the high road to Vienna. The Austrians retired behind the Trasen, the last river of note within fifty miles of Vienna.

All was confusion, terror, and dismay in that city; fear was in every countenance, except the disaffected, who expected something, though they knew not what. Vienna was not without some of this wretched set—as

The Archduke Charles proposes an Armistice.

the common enemy approached, their spirits rose, and the city was in confusion.

The alarm was increased by the departure of the Imperial family, who set out for Offen, escorted by the life guards. The royal gallery of paintings, the Imperial treasury, other valuables, and the city treasury, were placed in waggons, ready to be removed from the capital. The most lively alarm was excited; but the Archduke Charles arrived at Vienna at ten o'clock in the morning of the 27th of December, with the news of his having concluded an armistice of thirty days with General Moreau, at Stayer. This, perhaps, was necessary to both, as may appear from the statement of the French General Desolles to the French Minister at War.

In this despatch he says, that the Archduke Charles has proposed an armistice to the General in Chief, and also acquaints him that the Emperor had sent a courier to M. Cobentzel, at Luneville, with orders to sign a peace.

Considering that they are advanced an hundred leagues before the other armies, that the Austrian army in Italy was behind them, and that General Bellegarde might send detachments to cut off their rear, and all communication with France, the General in Chief has thought it his duty to consent to a convention, which affording great advantages, gave them also an opportunity of waiting for the operations of the army of Italy. The well-known probity and honour of the Archduke Charles are sufficient pledges of the Emperor's desire to put an end to the war; he has also been compelled to this by the wretched state of his army, which has lost, in twenty days, sixty leagues of country, 26,000 prisoners, from 12 to 15,000

Moreau engages to send the Convention to the other Armies.

killed and wounded, 140 cannon, and immense magazines, and could not, therefore, be able for three months to prevent them from conquering all Austria. The General in Chief besides believed, that to stop thus, in the career of brilliant victories, was conformable to the moderation in which the Chief Consul wishes to make himself known to Europe. He sends a copy of the armistice, and says the Emperor is determined to treat, whatever his allies may do; and at all events, from their present situation, they can renew the campaign with the greatest security.

The policy and ostentation of the French are visible in this letter; while they allow their situation to be insecure, and their communication with France likely to be cut off, they yet strive to throw all the necessity for peace on the part of the Austrians. The latter certainly did yield when they should have vigorously resisted—they should have sought an armistice before, or fought with resolution beneath the walls of Vienna. The French General seemed to doubt the Archduke, though he compliments him; as he shews they are disposed for war, though willing to treat for peace.

This armistice was to continue for thirty days, and a notice of fifteen days must be given before hostilities commenced. Moreau promised to send immediately the present convention to the general of the Gallo-Batavian army, and to that of the Grisons and Italy, urging them to a suspension of hostilities.

Peace-making was the fashion of the year—the ministers of Europe were busy negotiating with the agents of the First Consul; and Great Britain, who had first disdainfully rejected the advances of Bonaparte, when he arrived at power, was among those who rested their security on his stability and moderation.

We now return to Italy, that fair part of the globe, dear to every scholar. The modern Hannibal, as he has been called, had ravaged much of this country, when he first figured on the stage of the French revolution. He there acquired some of his laurels, and displayed that love of glory, and other qualities, by which he gave his soldiers an ardour that nothing could withstand. There too, probably, the seeds of that ambition which has shook Europe, were sown. His admiring countrymen hailed him as a successful general and great negociator. A party formed round him; for a great man is always a centre, and he stepped forth to raise himself on the ruins of their distracted councils; yet he seems but as a beginner: but hereafter we shall see him in a part that eclipses all deeds of former adventurers.

It will be remembered, that an armistice was concluded between the French and Austrians after the battle of Marengo; contrary to the stipulations, the Austrians kept possession of the town and citadel, and also of a large territory called the Polesino of Ferrara. An insurrection of the people in Tuscany took place; more properly speaking, it was a sort of *levy en masse*, and in the preliminaries the Emperor had engaged to disarm this force.

A convention was agreed to at Castiglione, by which General Brune agreed to wait for an answer from Vienna about the evacuation of Ferrara by the Austrians; but a total silence was observed with regard to this *levy en masse*. The French General, however, insisted on it; for they supposed this body was paid by the English, as they had been reinforced by some troops from Naples. This, however, was all of it a pretence of the French, who wanted a plea to make an irruption into Tuscany, which they thought necessary, lest, if war should be renewed, the

Dupont enters Tuscany with a Force.

English should land in that neighbourhood, of which they were much afraid, and which was intended. A general officer, with a few troops, was sent by General Dupont to General Sommariva, the commander in Tuscany, requesting that he would disarm the national guard, as it was called, and disperse the different parties of robbers. It was also signified to him, that if the peasants were not quietly sent home Tuscany should be entered by a military force, and they should be punished for the outrages committed on the territories in the occupation of the French; promises were made but never fulfilled.

The insurgents were easily dispersed. The Austrians, in number 2500, retired to Ancona. All English merchandize found in Tuscany was confiscated. This was a flagrant injustice—by the armistice of Marengo Leghorn was to retain its neutrality; yet they seized upon all the English property they could find. We were, indeed, a little too soon for them, having shipped most of it away. The insurgents of Tuscany amounted to 25,000 men. Le Brune says the French were thought necessary in Tuscany by the Grand Duke and his party, who felt that the safety of the French required what he (Le Brune) had ordered.

There were other motives for Dupont's irruption into Tuscany; one, his concern for the welfare of the people. This, no doubt, merits the greatest praise; but it was unjustifiable: yet they did not wish to break the armistice; and General Dupont adds, that he "preserved the highest respect towards the Austrian troops, and the officers had agreed that the occupation was a measure which ought not to lessen the harmony between the two armies." The Court of Vienna appeared to acquiesce in this rea-

Articles of Peace agreed on between France and Austria.

soning, for nothing important took place between the two armies till the expiration of the truce of Hohenlinden. Le Brune was wholly governed by the movements of Moreau.

The French meant to fall on the Austrians on the lake of Guarda, and turn the lines of the Mincio. This did not take place; other plans were adopted, and an Austrian colonel arrived at the French head-quarters, to propose an armistice, which was concluded at Treviso, twenty miles from Venice. The Tagliamento was the line between the two armies; the blockade of Mantua to be continued; but the Emperor, as a proof of sincerity, besides four fortresses agreed to be given up, also consented to give up Mantua.

Bonaparte's object in these negociations is shewn in the answer he gave to the Court of Vienna. On the proposal of peace being made to him, he says, the left bank of the Rhine is to be the boundary of the Republic; he does not pretend to the right—the Emperor is not to pass the Adige—the Helvetic and Batavian Republics to be guaranteed. Victories do not add to the pretensions of the French—Austria cannot expect from her defeats what her victories could not gain. France wishes to restore peace to Germany and Italy, and to free the Continent from the destructive genius of England."

Bonaparte obtained his wish—Germany, who was so long determined not to treat alone, could no longer think of her Allies. These armistices led to a final pacification, and after many delays, articles of peace were definitively agreed upon between the First Consul of the French Republic and the Emperor.

This treaty was concluded at Luneville in February 1801. The plenipotentiaries named were the Count

The Conditions of the Treaty.

Cobentzel and Joseph Bonaparte. It agreed firstly, that there was to be a permanent peace between the French Republic and the Emperor; the utmost harmony to be observed, and no assistance to be given to those who could disturb it. The Belgic Provinces given up to the French, Falkenstein and its dependencies, the Frickthal, and all that belongs to the House of Austria on the left bank of the Rhine, between Zurzach and Basle. The Emperor to possess Istra, Dalmatia, and the Venetian Isles dependent on those countries; the Bocca di Cattaro, the city of Venice, the Adriatic Sea, and the Adige, from its leaving the Tyrol to the mouth of the said sea, the towing path of the Adige being the line of limitation. Draw-bridges to be established in the middle of the cities of Verona and Porto Legnano, to mark the separation of this line. The Brisgau to be given to the Duke of Modena. Tuscany and the Island of Elba to be possessed by the infant Duke of Parma. The Grand Duke to obtain a full indemnity in Germany for his Italian states.—The French to possess all on the left bank of the Rhine; the towing-path of the Rhine to be the limit between the French Republic and the Germanic Empire, from where the Rhine leaves Switzerland till it enters the Batavian territory. The French Republic renounces all possession on the right bank of the Rhine, and restores Dusseldorf, Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsburgh, the fort of Cassel, the fort of Kehl, and Old Brisach; these places to remain as they now are. The Emperor to give indemnity to the hereditary Princes dispossessed on the left bank of the Rhine, which shall be taken from all the empire, according to arrangements to be determined on, when the ratification is exchanged. Sequestration of property to be taken off on both sides. This treaty to be common

Bonaparte addresses the Legislative Bodies.

to the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian Republics. The said republics to be guaranteed by both parties.

The Emperor renounces all rights which he might have on the countries he possessed before the war, which now form part of the Cisalpine Republic, which shall possess them in sovereignty. The navigation of the Adige and the rivers of the Cisalpine Republic to be free, and no toll on any ship of war kept there. All prisoners to be restored within forty days.

There were a few other articles, but of no great consequence, and thus ended this famous treaty.

The ending of a war carried on for near ten years, caused much satisfaction through France; the First Consul immediately stated the joyful news to the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, and the Conservative Senate. His address abounded with a flowing description of facts; and he held out, that England alone disturbed the peace of mankind. He tells them that the continental peace is signed at Luneville; the Rhine is their boundary; the liberty of the Cisalpines and of Liguria is secured. The King of Spain has suffered, but a Prince of his blood will sit on the throne of Tuscany. Austria will not feel that rivalry which occasioned the torment of the two powers, and the calamities of Europe. France wishes this had been the treaty of a general peace, but her efforts are vain; the British Minister operated to frustrate the negotiations at Luneville. An agent of France told him, that she was ready to enter into a separate negociation, but in vain; this produced a refusal. England could not abandon her ally; that ally, however, treats without England, whose government seeks other means to delay a peace; it declares war against miserable fishermen; all

Correspondence between M. Otto and the Transport Board.

the commerce of Asia, and immense colonies, is not enough for its ambition; it arms against the Northern Powers, because they have guaranteed the independence of their flags. They have a right to reckon upon France; she will avenge with them an injury to all nations, but will not lose sight that it ought to fight only for the good of the world.

Such was the style in which Bonaparte addressed his senate; he by no means conceals his antipathy to England, as the natural enemy of France, and with the happy mode of magnifying trifles into weighty and serious objects, he wishes to fix this country with the stigma of making war upon miserable fishermen.

A long correspondence arose between M. Otto and the Transport Board, about the taking fishermen on the coast of France. It had been given up for a long time by the English, and the prisoners were released on condition they should not serve against this country; but it was soon evident that the perfidy of France could not be trusted to; those very men, with their boats, were employed in fitting and equipping the enemy's fleet in Brest; they ought therefore to be considered as subject to the chances of war. The Transport Office demanded of M. Otto the return of all the fishermen released on parole; and that those who did not return should be treated with every rigour of the law, if they were again made prisoners. M. Otto, in reply said, he had sent their letter to his government, and added some remarks on this measure, not without reason. A letter arrived from M. Talleyrand, ordering M. Otto to leave England, and ending with a flourish too affected to deserve praise or credit. Talleyrand said, in the name of the First Consul, that the French Government wished to contribute to a general pacification, and

Gallant Defence of Porto Ferrajo.

to soften the evils of war ; that it could not think of making poor fishermen victims ; it will keep from all such reprisals, and has ordered all French ships to leave their occupation uninterrupted.

This was to shew the greatness of the Great Nation, and the cruelty of the English ; yet the world could not be always duped ; these men were employed hostilely against this country, and were in consequence objects of our resentment.

Italy and Germany were at the beck of Bonaparte after signing the treaty of Luneville. The Emperor had suffered much, and he gallantly kept up a contest, the origin of which is yet a doubt ; every chance of a lasting peace appeared ; he certainly would not soon be able to renew the war, and the First Consul saw France enlarged and his power more settled.

We cannot omit to notice the bravery with which the small garrison of Porto Ferrajo, in the Island of Elba, on the coast of Tuscany, defended itself against the great efforts of the French ; when the latter entered Tuscany, some English, at Leghorn, took refuge in Porto Ferrajo, conducted by Mr. Grant, the English vice-consul at that port. They determined to defend themselves against the Republicans ; all prepared for war, men and women ; 300 artillerymen were given them by Sir J. B. Warren ; there were 400 Corsicans paid by the English, and many Neapolitan deserters, so that they amounted to 1500 men. The French invested it on the land side with 5000 men, and the town was bombarded ; it was twice attempted to be stormed, but was defended with great bravery ; the besieged made a sally, and destroyed the French batteries ; new and strong preparations were made against it, when they were summoned to surrender

Great Troubles in Naples and Sardinia.

by the Minister of their new Sovereign, the King of Etruria, with a promise of amnesty. This Prince was the eldest son of the Duke of Parma, and agreeably to the treaty of Luneville, was called to the throne of Tuscany. The garrison replied they knew no authority but that of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the bombardment was renewed with much effect.

Admiral Warren returned about the middle of September, with troops for its relief; they, to the number of 3000, with some sailors, were landed as near Porto Ferrajo as possible; the besieged then made a Sally, and took the battery which hindered the English vessels from getting into the harbour. When the English had advanced a little way they were attacked by the French, and forced to retreat.

An attack was also made by the English on Marciana, but was unsuccessful; it was garrisoned chiefly by Polish troops, and the English retreated with great loss; but subsequent successes did away this effect; a desperate sally was made under Mr. Grant, and the outer entrenchments of the French camp, and the port of Madonna della Grazia were taken.

The Island of Elba is eight miles long and two broad; it was divided between the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the King of the Two Sicilies.

Great troubles prevailed in Naples and Sardinia, and many families removed to Rome. The insurgents were headed by a bold chief named Manmone, who seemed resolved to try his strength with whatever might oppose him. The insurgents in Sardinia were commanded by an ignorant fellow, who could neither read nor write. He conferred pretended honours on his followers, levied money, and set a price on those who were inimical to

him. This spirit of insurrection continued till France and England settled the Italian affairs.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

WE will make the treaty of Luneville a point to which our narrative is brought, and from which we will again proceed, and resume our account of operations in Egypt. On its burning shores the valour of our countrymen was shewn in an exulting manner. An inferior number of British had to oppose an army accustomed and inured to hardships, flushed with late successes, and confident in themselves, to which may be added, the landing in a hostile country. Our troops were not hardened by campaigns, but their courage proved that, on equal terms, they were inferior in no instance to a French army.

There is a local interest attached to Egypt; its shores are venerable, but it has degenerated. When we consider on the great events which passed there the mind is lost in amazement—we identify Antony and Cleopatra, Cæsar and Augustus, on the same spot that British valour has so lately been signalized. Great is the change! At the period when they shone in history Britain was a savage land. When Cæsar's soldiers returned to Rome they boasted of braving its sullen coast more than of con-

Description of Egypt.

quering armies—it has now risen to be the first among modern nations; and its inhabitants have reaped laurels in the fields, where their haughty oppressors triumphed when their progenitors were but savages.

Bonaparte had many favourite plans on this country, and he suffered severely in their frustration.

Egypt is divided into Upper and Lower, the latter lies near the Mediterranean, the former towards the south. The town of Thebes was in Upper Egypt, but Lower Egypt was most peopled, and contained a number of large islands called the Delta, from their form called after the fourth letter of the Greek alphabet. Lower Egypt is formed principally by the mud and sand carried down by the Nile, separated from Asia by deserts; some low grounds, with brackish water in them, is the only route by which an army can approach on that side; its flat shore on the Mediterranean gives but few places to land at; on the west it is subject to irruptions of the Arabs; she has scarcely any reason to dread any thing from the Red Sea, as the two ports of that sea could scarcely give fresh water to an invading army, and provisions and camels to pass the desert must be had from Egypt.

A chain of barren mountains is on each side of the Nile in Upper Egypt; the valley between them, four or five leagues in breadth, is covered by the inundations of the Nile, and is cultivated and inhabited; near Cairo this chain of mountains is further asunder; the way in which they terminate on each coast of the Red Sea, would almost induce one to believe that the two seas communicated by a strait, since filled with sand from the Nile.

The Nile formerly spread itself through the Delta to the sea in seven branches, now reduced to two principal ones, those of Rosetta and Damietta. It may be, that

when the seven branches existed together, they had nearly an equal body of water, but canals cut in all directions, and other causes, diminished the body of water, the sea drove back the fresh water and mingled with it; this destroyed the fertility of the land it overflowed, and the people abandoned it.

The preservation of the canals was neglected, as the cultivators retired to more fertile parts; this is often observed in the branches of Rosetta and Damietta; circumstances which increase the body of water in one branch at the expense of another, admits the sea, which impregnates the land with salt, and the cultivators desert it; but the equilibrium being restored, the fresh water makes the land fertile.

Lower Egypt, it must be admitted, owes much of its existence to the earth deposited by the Nile; what the river did not leave on its banks, must settle where the meeting of the river and the sea produced a calm; this matter formed bars or sand banks, which the water extended on all sides, and successively increasing, they formed the chain of sand banks which are at the mouths of the Nile.

The land arising from the Nile enlarges Lower Egypt, and gains on the sea; perhaps it gains in one quarter only by losing in another; for centuries past it is observed, that more land has been acquired from the sea than from the Nile; if the body of water is allowed to spread, and the beds of the great branches enlarged, the sea will gain land instead of giving it; this threatens Egypt if it remains in the power of ignorant people.

When water lessens in one of the branches of the river, and permits the sea to flow into its channel, the salt water spreads over the low grounds, and into the lakes; storms

Swelling of the Nile.

often send the sea water beyond the lakes, and makes the cultivator leave a territory rendered sterile.

From this cause arises the shallow marshy lakes on the coast. Lake Etko, a new lake, was formed in 1801, by opening the canal of Deirout, through the inconsiderate orders of General Menou; the waters of the canal forced itself to the sea; the sea rushed in by that passage and formed the lake. Lake Mareotis was dry for a long time, but its bed was still soft, with brackish mud and moving sand; and with rain in winter, and a little of the Nile in its inundation; it is marshy for some time in the year.

The English having cut the dyke at the canal of Alexandria, Lake Madich was overflowed by the sea, parallel to which it runs for some distance.

The Nile begins to swell in the summer solstice, and is at its height in the autumn equinox; and shewing its grandeur for a few days, it begins to diminish. The waters subside more gradually than they rose; at the winter solstice it is low, but water remains in the great canals; land is then put in a course of culture, and the country is passable.

All Egypt is inundated in September, the water spreading more or less. Communications are generally opened about the end of November, but the low grounds and canals are even then filled with water or mud; in December they dry up. Bridges and roads being rare in Egypt, the Delta cannot be crossed before January or February.

The Nile rises and falls sooner or later by fifteen days, often a month; but Lower Egypt is only passable from February to the latter end of August; the great branches only then contain water, and boats are always found on them.

By this sketch it may be evident, that military operations can only be undertaken during about seven months in the year; in the course of the other months you may indeed march on the borders of the desert, but no provisions for an army could be procured; an army landing and wanting to commence its operations in the interior, could only do so by water; they would be embarrassed in defending Egypt during the inundation, its movements being chiefly by water, would be tardy and difficult. Egypt is so connected with European politics, that we have thought it right to be thus explicit; its fertility makes it a valuable colony to any power.

The ground is wonderfully productive; it yields three crops, and with care might produce one third more than they do at present; after subsisting 3,000,000 of people, it sends vast supplies to Arabia and Turkey. A crop of corn generally yields from 25 to 30 measures for one; it has been known that 150 times the seed sown has been reaped. Wheat, barley, and rice grow almost without culture; the sugar cane is abundant, and excellent sugar is made; the olive tree is there, and coffee might easily be introduced; all the wants and luxuries of Europe could be cultivated here. Egypt might recover great splendour, if a good government directed her resources. The beys generally made the revenue near 1,500,000*l.* sterling; and the French besides supplied their armies in kind.

From Africa they receive at Cairo ivory, gold-dust, gums, and slaves; from Arabia, spices, with the manufactures of Persia and India. Water can almost be got any where by digging, and wells are already established at several places, which supplied 7000 souls, and nearly as many camels and oxen. The dangerous navigation of

The Turks the real Possessors of Egypt.

the Red Sea offers many difficulties to fix a large post at Suez; there are no springs nearer than 12 miles, except those called Moses' Wells, from an idea that he allowed the Children of Israel to refresh there. Water is taken from thence and put in tanks, from whence it is taken only in times of great necessity. The town of Suez is of no note; its defences are nothing. In a military point of view Egypt is of importance; if France should ever possess it, India would be terror struck, and the Ottoman empire would totter.

It cannot be doubted, but that the Turks may be looked on as the possessors of Egypt. Recollecting the rebellious system of the Mamelukes, who had long strove to throw off the yoke even of nominal dependence, they wished by one effort to remove these usurpers. Refuged in Upper Egypt, the Mamelukes may carry on a petty warfare against the Turks, but their numbers will not give them success. Europe should not lament their fall; their government was oppressive; their customs degrading. The Turks must be considered as having the defence of Egypt. Alexandria is the key to Egypt, though divided from the cultivated country by water and desert, as in that harbour security can alone be found for ships of any burden, during the year. Military operations can only be practised for six or seven months in the year. Without Alexandria no force could go by the desert to Cairo; for during three months of the inundation no intercourse could be kept with the villages on the borders, and afterwards subsistence could not be got in them. Egypt could not be an easy conquest; the Turks are capable of defending it more than the Mamelukes.

It is a pity that a country rich as Egypt is in treasures, fertility, and commerce, should be kept in slavery; but

reflection may be found by those who would form the colony, that their lives would be wretched from the misery which pervades, and the diseases which desolate this otherwise so distinguished land.

Egypt in its population consists of many nations and conditions of people, distinguished by their mode of life, manners, and political and religious codes ; traces of the feudal system may be discovered, which seems inherent in the first degrees of civilization.

The Arab, feeding his herds, and living on their milk, reminds us of the ancient patriarchs. The Arab pays great respect to old people, and the limits of parental authority are very extensive ; quarrels among them are inveterate ; in love with their independence, they despise the husbandman and inhabitants of cities ; there is a fierceness in their character not unmixed with elevated sentiments ; frankness and courage they hold in the highest estimation, and the highest praise they can give a man is to say, " he has but one tongue." They have not found that quality much in the masters of Egypt. They most desire the increase of their family, for their power increases in the same proportion ; they honour their wives according to the number of children they bring them. The spirit of plunder is inseparable from an Arab ; it is not easy to decide the reason of this ; they maintain it is a right of conquest ; they look on themselves as masters of Egypt by conquest ; they divide the country by provinces, where they govern and have their particular territories ; they treat with the government of Egypt as one sovereign with another, and pay no fixed tribute, but purchase their tranquillity by presents, chiefly of horses and camels, but rarely money. The title of Arab Sheik is highly venerated in Egypt ; if the quarrels of the Arab

tribes did not prevent their union, the Sheiks could assemble 40,000 horse, and become masters of Egypt; but their dissensions prevent any fears on this account.

They have numerous leagues or confederacies, of which powerful Sheiks are the leaders. If a quarrel takes place between two tribes of the same league, that which is deserted by the other members of the league, for the time, joins the opposite party. The origin of these confederacies has not been traced; they are very ancient, and are in common with all the Arabs. When the French army came to Egypt, Ibrahim Bey was of the league called *Sath*, and Murad Bey of that called *Haran*. The former league is generally attached to the governor of Cairo.

The Fellahs, or cultivators of Egypt, resemble the Arabs in character, and may spring from a mixture of the first Arabs with the ancient inhabitants; they are bound by families to the land they cultivate; though they cannot be sold, their condition is worse than slavery; they can leave their children the land allotted to their families, but can scarcely let a part without their lord's permission.

The Mukhtesims, or proprietors of villages, bear a resemblance to the feudal lords of Europe; they divide the produce of their lands into unequal proportions; the smaller called the *miri*, is the territorial impost due to the Grand Seignior; like the feudal lord, he has also the immediate property of land, which the Fellahs must cultivate without hire.

The cities are peopled by various classes, different in origin, manners, and religion. The principal are the artizans and merchants, of various countries and worship; people who live on their estates, religious chiefs, and the principal military officers of the government. The inhabitants of the great cities do not belong to the proprie-

All Classes may enter the Priesthood.

tors ; they hold their houses, &c. independent, and can sell them. The great cities, few in number, are Cairo, Damietta, Rosetta, and Alexandria. Family distinctions prevail in the cities ; arts and trades are hereditary ; the son imitates the father, and never improves on his knowledge. The Copts are the most numerous class of christians in Egypt ; most of them live in the cities, where they receive the taxes, and manage the estates of the chiefs of the country ; several of them are masons, carpenters, &c. in the towns. The christians of Syria settled in Egypt trade with their own country ; the Greeks also trade with their own country, and furnish sailors. The Jews are usually *serap*, or money changers, dealers in old clothes, or locksmiths ; the prejudice against these people is nearly the same in every country. All Europeans settled in Egypt are generally called Franks ; they have a particular quarter in Cairo, and enjoy some privileges, though much harassed by exactions.

All classes are permitted to enter the priesthood ; they first learn and recite a few prayers and passages of the Koran, and afterwards to read and write ; some perfect themselves in reading and writing, and study the Koran, and this includes all necessary to the order of the priesthood ; indeed the most part of the Imans have made no further progress ; various arts prepare their way to high employments ; submission to their superiors, religious practices, and a language abounding in maxims. The principal Sheiks of religion are like the priests of every other country, who strive to gain the ascendancy over men by artifice ; their knowledge is very superficial ; they have no acquaintance with political or other science ; indeed they do not even suspect its existence.

They enjoy large revenues devoted to the support of

Some Account of the Mamelukes.

mosques and pious foundations, under the humble title of *fakir* (poor) ; these revenues are generally lands and villages given by the sovereigns of Egypt or individuals, and duties on consumption. They possess great influence over the people, and great homage is paid to them, even by the most despotic governors. The body of Mamelukes is entirely different from the institutions of Europe. It is a singular thing in the middle of the Arabs, so attached to distinction of ranks, to see a numerous body who venerate the purchased slave, who from that state is raised to the highest dignities. This prevails in Turkey, and at Constantinople, where the principle of government is to preserve the race of Osman, and where there are families of high consideration.

Mamelukes, whom the Caliphs bought to form their guard, seized at last on the government ; their power was transmitted to their children ; violence or choice settled who should have the government. The death of the ruler caused new troubles, till they agreed on a chief, or shared the country between them.

All the Mamelukes bought by a chief, or even by his freed men, are looked on as part of the family, and call him father ; this is the great feature of the constitution of the Mamelukes. On the death of their master, those of most authority are often divided by personal interests ; the favour they enjoyed from him settles the quantity of their wealth and power ; he who has the principal influence is acknowledged for chief ; if many are equal, they make war till one gets the better of the rest, or they consent to divide the authority among them.

Slaves are carried by Turkish merchants from Constantinople to Egypt, from six to seventeen years of age ; in their childhood they receive an entirely military edu-

Supposed Population of Egypt.

cation, which gives them that address and strength for which they are distinguished. At a proper time they are removed into the cavalry of the master, and as they inspire his regard, are removed to those who are immediately about his person.

When a man receives his freedom he quits his master's house; and often receives one of his slaves in marriage; he is always ready to obey his master and follow him to war; they let their beard grow as the sign of their liberty.

A great field is open to the Mamelukes; from slaves they become beys, and even sovereigns of Egypt; by attachment, zeal, obedience, and bravery in arms, they obtain the favour of their masters, wealth, and liberty; they never serve on foot. The government has besides a body of infantry; these soldiers, few in number, were men from Albania and the west of Barbary, employed under the Mamelukes to guard the cities of the Beys, who pay them; if they have few children, it is not the case with the other inhabitants of Egypt; the Fellahs have a great number, otherwise the plague would destroy the population of Egypt.

It is difficult to give an estimate of the population of Egypt; the whole may however be stated at 3,000,000 at most, taking in Cairo, which contains near 300,000 inhabitants. In all ranks power and riches are the only way to authority, and the only objects of ambition. The Beys purchase white slaves, sometimes black; the Arabs, Negro slaves; and each, when he fancies he is strong enough, makes war on his rivals. If the government cannot overcome these jealous forces, anarchy has the sway. The cultivator is generally brought into these quarrels, and the produce of his fields supports the combatants; under

the influence of powerful men more than of acknowledged laws, he knows not whom to obey ; he fulfils the orders of him he most dreads, and hence the custom of taking the field to raise the contributions ; dissimulation is the chief study in Egypt ; and to dissemble is the fate of all.

Many causes contribute to make a family or village be punished for the crime of an unknown individual ; vengeance is extended to entire families, and large territories are over-run to force a compensation for robberies which took place within their boundaries.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

THE French were not silent in their reproaches against us, from the non-ratification of the treaty of El-Arisch ; the justice or injustice of it, however, does, and likely may, remain a mystery. The instructions sent out to Lord Keith, were dated December 1799 ; the treaty was signed in January 1800 ; we cannot therefore accuse the English ministry of prevarication in the first instance ; Lord Keith obeyed his orders, and Kleber, thinking them decisive, prepared for the renewal of hostilities.

The victory of Heliopolis was the consequence of this rupture ; and we will take a slight view of the affairs of the French under Menou, till the English appeared on the coast of Egypt.

Menou gives Disgust to the Generals.

Nothing gave the French army more general disgust than the attempts made by Menou to tarnish the glory of Kleber; he was adored by the soldiers, perhaps more even than Bonaparte; they did not forget his conduct with respect to the latter, when he was left by him without money or resources necessary in a foreign country. Kleber loved the service he was engaged in, and would not venture its disgrace by checking his men's spirits; he therefore hushed the feelings of his own breast to stifle those of his army; this reflected lustre on his name, and the French did not forget it. They abhorred the meanness of Menou, who endeavoured in many ways to cast disgrace on the loved memory of him he succeeded.

Menou was alike unpopular both with the men and the generals; his conduct gave dissatisfaction to those who were his equals in military science. He displaced General Dumas without any reason; Dumas wrote to Menou, expressing his astonishment and ignorance of what cause he had given; and said he should wait for despatches from Government, unless he had charges for a court-martial; no answer was returned, and Menou refused to see him.

Generals Regnier and Friant waited on Menou, to discourse on the business; the only reason he gave was, there was an incompatibility in their dispositions, and he could not transact business with General Dumas, and protested on his honour that nothing personal influenced him.

Regnier did not press the matter, as Menou very bluntly offered to resign his command; he begged, however, he would come to an explanation with General Dumas, and either continue him in his station, or remove him to another command. Dumas had no wish to make a dissension, he

Menou careless of the public Money.

retired from the situation of the chief of the staff, and took the command of the two provinces of Benisouef and Fayoum; the general orders announced his departure, and contained praises on his conduct.

Menou wished to form a party, but failed; and finding that the greater part of the army were discontented with him, he determined on making himself popular; he made six new generals of brigade, and filled up the vacancies in the army. Many officers, wishing to remain with their old corps, refused the promotion, but they were forced to take their new rank. In this, political finesse was his motive; for though those he advanced deserved it for their services, yet he wished to crush envy, and thought, by bestowing favours, he would remove all enmity. There was nothing to which he did not descend; he even employed spies and tale-bearers; how unlike him who led the French to Egypt!—How unlike the manly Kleber!

The finances to an army like the French, distant from their own country, with no passage over-land, and that by sea exposed to certain dangers, were of great importance; money should have been husbanded as precious; this Menou did not do, and another source of difficulty flowed on the army.

When Kleber was assassinated, part of the contribution in money, and the whole of that in merchandize, were unpaid. Menou, however, collected them, with some of the usual territorial imposts. The troops were ordered to be paid regularly, without deduction, and most of the arrears paid up; several causes raised the expenses to seventeen or eighteen hundred thousand francs per month, though all was said to be meant to reduce the expenses of Kleber's administration, which

never exceeded thirteen or fourteen hundred thousand franks; another instance of the hostility of Menou towards the memory of Kleber.

Large receipts from the new duties were announced in general orders, yet, in three months the funds were expended; money was soon wanting. The Copts were ordered to furnish a forced loan, and were promised a mortgage on the contributions in arrear; that security would have produced more had it been put in effect. New wants succeeded; a second loan was furnished by the Copts; perhaps it was prudent to make them give up some of their plunder; but Kleber looked on them as a reserve for times of difficulty, and got what he wanted from them during the siege of Cairo.

The revenue of Egypt might amount to 21,000,000 franks per annum; but the collecting them relied on the tranquillity of the country; any thing that would compel the troops to concentrate, would suspend the receipts; for, throughout the East, it requires a military force to collect the contributions.

Economy was an essential point, that if the revenue suddenly failed, enough might be found for the army; but nothing could check General Menou, nor deter him from augmenting the expenditure; he persuaded himself that nothing could disturb the country.

To understand the causes of the English successes in Egypt, under so many disadvantages, we should have an idea of the state of the French army, and the character of its chief; for though British valour was never more displayed; yet the success arose in a great measure from the misconduct of our enemies. It is admitted, that had Menou acted with the judgment expected, our triumph might have been doubtful. One of the first inducements to send

Menou's Conduct gives Discontent.

so small an army into Egypt, was from what they gained in intercepted letters from that country, from which it appeared that the French were in a deplorable condition; without resources, and almost without a leader; dissensions in the army, and no cordiality among the generals: but these reports were exaggerated, and the English army found them able to dispute with a greater force than came against them; however, they were not dismayed, though they had few hopes of final success. They advanced, and the enemy actually made the dispositions which Sir Ralph Abercrombie would have wished and desired, could he have influenced Menou.

The conduct of Menou in several instances gave universal discontent; the inhabitants complained that a musulman general, from whom they had expected so much, made them regret the loss of a christian general. In fact, Menou had embraced the Mahometan faith, and signed himself Abdallah J. Menou. Under the Turks and Mamelukes they had borne all caprices; but experience taught them the mildness of European manners. Bonaparte and Kleber had won the affections of the people.

The popular odium against Menou had arrived to such a pitch that many of the generals proposed to bring him to a trial; others thought General Regnier should take the command, satisfied that Menou was unfit; and a more moderate party wished to remonstrate with and advise with him. This was acceded to, and the generals were preparing to wait on him with this intention, when an officer arrived from Toulon; they found that his despatches were still addressed to General Kleber; they went, however, the same day to his quarters; he was much perplexed by the visit; they stated the reasons

Funeral Homage paid to the Memory of General Desaix.

which had induced them to come to him at present, and recapitulated all they had to find fault with in his conduct since he had the command; he listened to them with a variety of emotions, and made many promises of alterations.

Menou made some vague replies; he said he would give his answers in writing; but the next day told one of the generals that their representations were just, but that he wanted a little time to return gradually to former measures.

The latter end of October the generals had another interview with Menou, before the funeral ceremonies in honour of Desaix; he said that he had given orders that some of their suggestions should be carried into effect, and promised to act according to what had been said to him.

A funeral homage was paid to General Desaix the last day of October; it passed with profound silence; the place was in sight of Heliopolis, and in the field where Kleber regained Egypt, the cenotaph was erected; the feelings of the troops were checked by the jealousy and hatred of Menou.

Menou caused offers to be made to Generals Dumas, Lanusse, and Verdier, of passports for France; but seeing the army in weak hands, and hoping to be still useful, they declined the offer.

Private letters announced that Menou was confirmed in the command; this was officially notified in a few days, by the arrival of an officer from France, who brought him his brevet of Commander in Chief.

The army had no friendly regard for Menou; they had little confidence in his abilities; but the government of

The English Army appears off Jaffa and sails for Rhodes.

his country had made him the head, and they must shew obedience to him, except where any thing might be of injury to the service.

Something may perhaps be allowed for Menou in this disgust which the army felt for him; he succeeded Bonaparte, the greatest man of the present, or perhaps of any age; and he succeeded Kleber, a brave general, who was loved by the soldiery as much as the other was feared. We do not, however, wish to defend all the actions of this general, but merely to offer a slight apology for the obloquy heaped on him.

The Grand Vizier was at Jaffa since he retreated from Heliopolis, with ten or twelve thousand horse and foot. Some English engineers had repaired the fortifications of this place, and the breach at El Arisch. He received some reinforcements, but the desertions more than counterbalanced them, and the plague greatly reduced his numbers; no supplies could be got from the villages, and he was forced to import the subsistence of his army from Europe, subject to great disadvantages. Having received but little money from Constantinople, he attempted to raise the value of the coin, but the army revolted, and he pacified them with very great difficulty. He demanded aid of the English; part of the English army appeared off Jaffa, but the plague making great ravages in the Vizier's army, they would not land, but sailed for Rhodes.

The Vizier received from Constantinople the plan of the campaign, and orders to act in unison with the English Generals. General Koehler, some few officers of the line, and about forty privates, were employed in putting the Vizier's troops into discipline.

Menou was acquainted with these hostile dispositions

A Statement of the English Army laid before Menou.

by means of spies ; yet he thought the Vizier only would attempt a descent on Egypt, and that the English would fix themselves at Rhodes, and be ready to share in the partition of the Ottoman Empire, by getting the Archipelago. Two French frigates, which came to Alexandria, and brought some troops and some supplies, gave more certain information of the enemy's designs against Egypt ; and also announced the sending more considerable succours. The Turks were unwilling to enter vigorously into active measures, the threats of the Emperor Paul had great weight with them ; he seemed resolved to over-run the Ottoman Empire ; and the Turks dreaded the sight of a Russian army. The Grand Vizier had to withstand the intrigues of the Captain Bashaw, the steady friend of the French, whose interest was high in the Seraglio.

Every action of Menou seemed to be guided by fatuity ; the Vizier thought the best thing to do would be to make a peace with Menou, to include the evacuation of Egypt ; this had already been nearly finished by the treaty of El Arisch, which the English broke, and this made the British army be suspected. A way was open to begin this negociation with Menou, without exciting the suspicion of the English. Kleber had encouraged Murad Bey to correspond with Ibraim Bey, in order to get at the plans of the Allies. This was the Vizier's channel, and he requested Murad to offer himself as a mediator between the Turks and French ; Murad hated the Turks, but his policy was to be well with all parties.

This proposal to Murad Bey was just at the time he usually sent the tribute for his provinces to Cairo, and he gave the papers to Osman Bey Bardici. This last laid before Menou a statement of the English forces, and a plan of the ensuing campaign. The English army, he

The Plague breaks out in Cairo.

insisted, was 18,000 men ; they were to make a landing, while the Vizier crossed the desert, and an English fleet with troops from India, might arrive at Suez.

The conduct of Menou on this occasion was wrong in the extreme, it betrayed even the want of common sense ; instead of accepting the offered assistance of Murad Bey —instead of trying by dissensions to weaken the English and Turks, he behaved towards Osman Bey with great abruptness, and seemed rather to look on him as a spy than the ambassador of a mediatorial power. He said he wanted no aid from any person, and observed, that Murad Bey would do well to remain quiet in the provinces ceded to him. He told the particulars of this interview to General Dumas and the inspector Dause, and both these generals strove to convince him he should not take offence at a few harsh words from Menou, and added, that he might assure Murad Bey of the esteem of all the French.

Osman remained to take back despatches from General Menou. When the news arrived that the English fleet appeared in Aboukir road, he repeated Murad's offers to assist the French with all his power ; but he only got evasive answers, and was ordered to quit Cairo. Thus ended a business, which might have been of great importance to the French.

The plague shewed itself in Cairo and many of the adjoining villages, and it also broke out in Upper Egypt. There had been a great scarcity of corn since the death of Kleber, and the arrival of two ships from France at Alexandria gave a deal of pleasure ; La Regenerée brought some men and ammunition, and La Lodi news of Gantheaume's squadron, with reinforcements.

Every eye was now turned towards Egypt ; two of the greatest European nations were struggling on its shores

The English arrive at Aboukir.

for the possession of the East ; and the event was important to the world. Possessed of Egypt, Bonaparte might disturb our East-India territories, and perhaps finally drive us from thence, by inciting the different surrounding states to hostilities ; he might transport his forces over land, previously getting the concurrence of those states he must pass through by negociation. It was indeed a grand plan, but not beyond the comprehension of him who conceived it.

The English fleet, ships of various kinds, boats and transports, set sail from Malta, and arrived at Marmorice, where the army was in turns landed and refreshed, and joined by some Greeks and Turks, who however left them during the strong westerly gales on their passage to Aboukir, where the English arrived on the 2d of March. They could not land before night ; and strong northerly gales and a heavy swell, rendered it impossible to disembark till the 8th. The General had not originally intended to have began his operations near Alexandria, but the long delay at Marmorice made him change his opinion.

The English had the vexation to see divisions of the French army daily marching along the beach, and batteries erected to oppose their landing. On the 7th of March, however, the wind changing, and the sea more calm, the general could reconnoitre the shore, and fix the place for landing. The morning was looked forward to with emulation.

The English Army prepare to land.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

THE British army wanted information about Egypt; the last draught of Egypt proved dreadfully incorrect. Sir Sidney Smith, so far as he had seen, certainly gave correct information, but he never was in the interior of the country. So little did Sir Ralph Abercrombie know of the strength of those he was getting ready to attack, that he rated them at the highest at 10,000 French, and 5000 auxiliaries, and this was beyond the number on which the expedition was originally formed.

The British army consisted of 15,330 men, including 999 sick, 500 Maltese, and every one attached to the army, except officers. The effective force did not exceed 12,000.

Even allowing the supposed strength of the enemy, with such a force to attack the possessors of a country, strengthened by fortified posts, a numerous cavalry, powerful artillery, with a perfect knowledge of the few points where debarkation could take place, was a daring enterprize—what then must people think when the enemy's force is ascertained!

On the morning of the 8th of March, at two o'clock, the first division of about 5500 men, under Major-General Coote, assembled in the boats. This division of the army occupied about 150 gun-boats; for six miles to the shore there was no noise to be heard, save the murmurs of thousands of oars dipping in the sea; the assembling

The English Army lands and drives the Enemy.

and arranging the boats, from the great extent of the anchorage, was not completed till near nine o'clock.

The flanks of the boats were protected by cutters and gun-vessels; at nine o'clock the boats advanced at the same instant, and the scene was all animation. The French, to the number of 2000 men posted on the sand-hills, looked with wonder at the scene, and did not think the attempt would have been made; but when they saw the boats moving rapidly to the shore, and the armed vessels beginning to fire, they no longer doubted, and opened a tremendous fire of shot and shells. Some of the boats were rather checked for a moment, but the rowers pushed on to the beach; the reserve leaped on shore, and formed as they advanced; the troops as they landed rushed impetuously on the enemy, and drove them to some distance.

When the British had full possession of the heights, the French ran from their position, but kept up a scattered fire in the rear sand-hills. They at last finally retreated with the loss of 300 men, eight pieces of cannon, and many horses. The whole of the army were landed before night. Sir Ralph Abercrombie took up a position with his right to the sea, and his left on Lake Maadie. The British loss was near 500 men and several gallant officers.

When the action was over the army dug for water, as Sir Sidney Smith assured them, that wherever date trees grew there was water. This proved to be the case. An Arab pointed out a well to Sir Sidney, which he had closed ever since the French landed.

When the news of the landing of the English reached Cairo, Menou reinforced the garrison. When the English came in sight of the enemy they found them strongly posted among sand-hills and palm trees, four miles from

Fort Aboukir captured by the English.

ancient Alexandria, being about 6000 infantry, 600 cavalry, and some flying artillery. The English were 13 or 14,000, but their cavalry were badly mounted, and they were deficient in artillery. On the 13th, however, they moved forward to the attack; much valour was evident on both sides; the French, under Lanusse, retreated to the heights of Nicopolis, from which they might easily have been forced, but it was thought imprudent to attempt a position, which could not be kept even when gained. In this action, which was highly creditable to the English, they lost about 1100 men killed and wounded. Above 500 French suffered. Four field-pieces and some ammunition were also taken. Sir Ralph Abercrombie had a horse shot under him. The English were busily employed in getting their heavy cannon on shore, and fortifying their camp. The French were repairing the works of Alexandria; they despatched a vessel to tell the government what happened, and to acquaint Gantheaume of the position of the English fleet. Fort Aboukir capitulated to the English, and Menou arriving from Cairo, all his disposable force was assembled at Alexandria. The supply in the market failed on the 19th, General Menou's patrols having fallen in with and killed several Arabs bringing sheep.

Sir Sidney Smith received a letter from an Arab on the 20th, stating that Menou intended to surprise the British camp next morning, but no great faith was given to it at head-quarters, though Sir Sidney was quite satisfied in his own mind of the truth of the information.

After so many actions it was reasonable to expect a general engagement, and Sir Ralph Abercrombie wished it to be the case. The English line was about a mile in extent, near four miles from Alexandria; a sandy plain

The French attack the British.

in front, the sea on the right, the Lake of Aboukir and canal of Alexandria, then dry, on the left. Here Menou determined to attack them next morning; he offered a louis-d'or to each man who would volunteer to commence by turning the right; this was undertaken by the invincibles, 900 strong. In this we see the difference between the two commanders; Bonaparte never would have stimulated his soldiers by hopes of a pecuniary reward; he held fame, renown, and honourable wounds before them. One cannot but be struck with the encouraging proclamations of Bonaparte to his army.

The French troops assembled at the advanced posts an hour before day-light; their dispositions were well made, and every one knew his duty. A firing was heard on the left at half past three; this was the false attack of the French. Attention was directed to that quarter, but the firing was too feeble on the left to believe that the place of the enemy's serious object; and General Moore, who was on duty, and had proceeded to the left, was so impressed with this idea, that he turned back to the right. Loud shouts were soon heard in front of the right, a roar of musketry followed, and the action became general.

The enemy attacked with the greatest impetuosity; they got into the British line almost as soon as the advanced posts, whom they kept up with as they drove them in. The British resisted them in the coolest and most gallant manner. The 28th regiment were engaged at the same time to the front, flanks, and rear. Sir Ralph Abercrombie received his mortal wound in a charge of cavalry. When the alarm was first given he had mounted his horse, and repaired to the right, which was seriously engaged; he sent his aides-du-camp with orders, and, while alone, some French dragoons got to the spot, and he was thrown

Menou orders a Retreat.

from his horse ; one of them, supposed to be an officer, rode at him, and endeavoured to cut him down ; but just as the sword was falling, the veteran general was so invigorated for the moment, that he seized the sword and wrenched it out of his hand ; the officer at this instant was bayoneted by one of the 42d. Sir Ralph did not know when he received the wound in his thigh, but complained much of the contusion in his breast, supposed to be from the hilt of the sword in the scuffle. Sir Sidney Smith was the first officer who came up to him, and having by accident broke his own sword, Sir Ralph instantly gave him the one he had so gloriously acquired.

The ammunition was so totally exhausted that many regiments had not a single shot to fire ; and not a cartouch for the guns in the battery. The French on the right, during the want of ammunition among the British, attempted to get close to a redoubt ; and some of the French having also exhausted theirs, actually pelted stones from the ditch at the 28th, who returned these unusual instruments of violence, which were not altogether harmless, as a serjeant of the 28th was killed by one.

Menou, finding at last that all his movements had failed, and the British had not met with any serious impression, resolved on a retreat. He retired in good order ; but it was lucky for them there was such a want of ammunition on the part of the English, or the slaughter would have been great, from the ground they passed over making a glacis for the longest range of shot. The action ceased about ten in the forenoon, but Sir Ralph Abercrombie would not quit the field till the defeat of the French was positively assured to him. He walked about and paid no attention to his wound, only complaining of his breast ; many officers who had gone to him did not know he was

The Invincible Standard taken.

wounded. He yielded at last to nature, was placed in a hammock, put into a boat, and taken to Lord Keith's ship, cheered as he passed to the water by the blessings of the soldiers.

The French standard was taken in this battle about which so much has been said. The displeasure of Bonaparte against those who lost it was very great. Sir Robert Wilson has taken much pains about the business, and his account has not been dissented from.

The 42d regiment and a private of the Minorca regiment, named Anthony Lutz, equally claim the trophy. Major Stirling first obtained it, and gave it to Serjeant Sinclair's care, who lost it when the French cavalry charged. The French had recovered the colours, when the Minorca advanced to relieve the 42d, and routed the enemy; but Lutz advanced and fired at the officer who had it and was some distance behind his men; the officer fell, and Lutz seizing the standard, was reloading his piece, when two dragoons rode at him; he killed the horse of one, and rushed on the rider entangled in the stirrup; but Lutz granted him quarter, and took him with the colours to his officer, who ordered him to headquarters, where the usual reward was given him. These facts have been proved in a court of inquiry which sat on purpose.

Lutz obtained a certificate of his gallant conduct and a bounty of twenty dollars on the spot; and he was ordered to wear the representation of a standard on his left breast, as a distinguishing mark. The French General, Regnier, states, that the battalion to which these colours belonged was composed of Copts: but Sir Robert Wilson very justly remarks, "How Copts came to carry a standard, on which, *Le passage de la Scrivia; Le passage du Taglia-*

Sir Sidney Smith goes to Alexandria.

mento ; Le passage de l'Tronzo ; La prise de Gratz ; Le pont de Lodi, are inscribed, General Regnier only can explain."

The total of the English loss in this action was near 1600 men ; every individual was distinguished on this day ; and great praise is due to General Moore, who was wounded early in the action through the leg, but would not quit the field. The conduct of the troops must excite wonder in military men of all nations. Surrounded, without ammunition, and to continue the contest, and remain conquerors, evinces the greatest intrepidity and discipline. Our success, however, would have been doubtful but for the misconduct of Menou ; his conduct was so indecisive, that a watchful enemy had many opportunities.

This victory, however, did not decide the fate of Egypt ; the French retained their position, and had a numerous army in the country, greater than the British : yet one great end of it was, the effect it had on the minds of the Arabs and inhabitants, thousands of whom saw the battle ; the market was well supplied, yet the army lived on salt pork, as the troops would not trust to the supply of fresh provisions, and the commissary feared to undertake it. The duties were severe ; the troops lay all night accoutered, and turned out every morning at three ; every thing was done by men's labour, and works thrown up for their defence.

Sir Sidney Smith went with a flag of truce, to get admitted to the Commandant of Alexandria. While he waited for the officer who went to head-quarters, he conversed with some of the men about the affair of the 21st ; it appeared they did not fight for Egypt, because they did not wish to continue in it : nay, they pitied the Eng-

Death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie.

lish, who now had so fair a prospect of possessing it. They regretted the affair of the 21st, as most fatal to a number of principal officers; they named Generals Lanusse and Bodet, and said that General Menou had his horse shot under him, and most of his staff were wounded.

The officer returned with an answer, that no one could pass the out-posts. Sir Sidney sent in his letter as from Sir Ralph Abercrombie and Lord Keith, proposing to the French to evacuate Egypt; that they should not be considered as prisoners of war, but that their shipping, artillery, &c. should be surrendered to the English. General Friant, the next morning, returned an answer, expressing his surprise that such a disrespectful offer to the army of the East should be made; and that the French would defend Egypt to the last extremity.

The Captain Pacha, with 6000 men, arrived at Aboukir on the 25th of March, landed, and encamped a little distance from the Beach. On the 29th Sir Sidney Smith, Major Montresor, and Isaac Bey, well known from his long residence in Europe, went with a flag of truce to the out-posts, and sent in their despatch, to which no answer was returned.

The death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie was known on that day; he bore painful operations with great firmness, but the ball could not be extracted; a mortification took place, and he died on the 28th, his mind much irritated with anxiety to resume the command. His death was universally mourned; the troops loved him, and he gave an example by his courage. Lord Hutchinson, then General, paid a just tribute to his memory in the following well known words:—

“ Were it permitted for a soldier to regret any one who has fallen in the service of his country, I might be ex-

General Hutchinson succeeds to the Command.

cused for lamenting him more than any other person ; but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that as his life was honourable so was his death glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country ; will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity."

General Hutchinson, who now succeeded to the command, found himself unexpectedly under the most unfavourable circumstances ; Egypt he considered after the battle of the 21st, would be considered as conquered ; his responsibility was great ; he saw that the campaign was well commenced, but with no marked superiority ; much was yet to be done, much to be suffered ; the plague and other diseases threatened to reduce his force, and Lord Keith told him that he could not remain on the coast after October.

He was in deep reflection of what was best to be done ; to remain inert was impossible, he therefore determined to get possession of Rosetta, and the command of the Nile. A small corps was appointed for this service, with eight pieces of cannon ; 4000 Turks, under the orders of the Caia Bey, were to act with this force.

Rosetta was taken on the 10th of April ; Colonel Spencer, who commanded this division, proceeded to Edko, where he arrived without opposition. The French, about 800 strong, were drawn up in front of Aboumandour, a high sand-hill over the Nile, on which was an old tower ; as he approached, part crossed the Nile in dgerms ready for the purpose, and the rest retreated towards El Hamed. Colonel Spencer detached a body to occupy Rosetta, and blockade Fort St. Julien, and he proceeded himself to El-Hamed.

This position was very strong ; its right and left well

General Hutchinson arrives at Rosetta.

protected, and the high banks of the canal in front ; but these canals have no water in them but at high Nile ; they are properly canals of irrigation.

The ease with which they took Rosetta afforded matter of astonishment ; its capture was deemed precarious, and Colonel Spencer's instructions were to abandon it if he met serious resistance. The French might easily have prevented him, and an enterprising partizan might have destroyed the ferry, bridge, &c. but this was one of the many faults committed by the French. It would almost appear, that the errors of Menou spread themselves through the camp : but the army was tired of their situation, and wished to get back to their native country ; no longer held in awe by the stern discipline of Bonaparte, they lost their ardour for glory ; the desertion of Bonaparte and the death of Kleber made a great change, and they were only anxious to quit an inhospitable climate.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

THE easy capture of Rosetta and St. Julien gave great hopes, and General Hutchinson was bent on carrying on operations against the interior ; he arrived at Rosetta the latter end of April, having visited the Captain Pacha in Aboukir Bay, on board his ship.

The Grand Vizier, it will be recollected, had strove to open a negociation for peace with Menou, but his haugh-

Death of Murad Bey.

ty conduct rendered it nugatory. Murad Bey assured the English General, that if he advanced towards Cairo he would join him; but remarked, he dare not move previously; and in a letter to Sir Sidney Smith, he says, "How can I be attached to the French; they have deprived me of my sovereignty, my honour, and my revenues; on the English faith alone I depend; the Turks have no right to my confidence;" and he beautifully ends, alluding to the Turks, and those who profess the same faith,—“Melancholy is it to reflect, that the arrow which has stuck in the eagle's wing, was an arrow made of an eagle's feather.”

Soon after this he was seized with the plague, while descending the Nile to join the English, and expired on the 22d of April. His loss was much regretted by the Beys and Mamelukes; and when they buried him they broke his sabre into his grave, thereby meaning that no one else was worthy to wear his arms. His loss was a great drawback to the British arms; he might have afforded the greatest advantages, acquainted as he was with the natural resources of the country, and endeared to the inhabitants.

Early in May some Turkish cavalry joined the British forces; these were Syrians, almost naked, many without arms, wretchedly mounted, and undisciplined even to savage wildness; they did not exceed 600 men; yet, bad as they were, they were not rejected; the Captain Pacha was vexed at their small numbers.

Rahmanieh surrendered to the English army, and the enemy retreated to Cairo. The loss of this place affected the French much. The British lost about thirty men killed and wounded; the Turks more, and the French about 100 men.

The English take a valuable Convoy.

Menou became more jealous of the other officers ; the army greatly murmured against him for the loss of Rahmanieh, as he had taken no measures to provide against it ; and the troops distinguished General Regnier by expressions of confidence ; they spread a report that he was to command the army, while General Menou was restricted to the civic administration of Egypt ; this increased his jealousy, and he resolved to banish Regnier ; he was taken forcibly on board a vessel bound for Europe, where he found several other officers ; he wrote a severe letter to Menou.

All now depended on the movements of General Hutchinson ; whether he would move towards Cairo, or fall back on Alexandria. Many were the reasons for and against the measures ; his mind was for some time distracted by the various objections ; he, however, remained fixed in his determination to proceed to Cairo, though great opposition was made to it. Rahmanieh was given up to the Turks, who left about 300 men in the fort.

A convoy of dgerms coming from Cairo fell into the power of the English, with 150 prisoners, and some guns intended for the defence of Alexandria. This was a valuable convoy, consisting of clothing, wine, spirits, stores, and nearly 5000*l.* in money.

The French forces at Cairo being strengthened by the troops from Rahmanieh, it was resolved to defeat the Vizier before the arrival of the English army. About 5000 infantry and 900 cavalry were selected for the purpose. Had the French attacked such a rabble as the Turkish army, their defeat would have been certain. Major Holloway and some other English officers, persuaded the Vizier to anticipate an attack by making one.

Information was given that the enemy were on their

The Grand Vizier defeats the French.

march; the Vizier ordered Tahir Bashaw with 3000 cavalry, and three light field-pieces, to advance to meet them, and if an opportunity offered during the darkness of the night, to attack; but at all events to impede their march as much as possible. They met about ten o'clock, and lay on their arms till light next morning, when the Bashaw attacked. The action was very briskly contended; the French at last retreated, and were driven not less than seven miles from the place of their first operations; it lasted seven hours, but though there was much firing the loss was not great: but this action must be considered as annoying the projects of the French, elevating the spirits of the Turks, and giving confidence to their friends in Cairo, and the country.

The people of Cairo saw the French return, baffled and dejected; they saw the Ottomans pursuing, and their crescent triumphant to Heliopolis, where the Grand Vizier passed the night in the pride of victory. The lucky issue of this battle secured a freedom of operations.

General Hutchinson wishing to hold a conference with the Grand Vizier, to arrange their future operations, went in his barge with the Captain Pacha. They were encountered by a dreadful sirocco wind; many animals exposed to the air died; respiration was difficult, and had it continued forty-eight hours the effects would have been terrible; but at night the wind cooled and changed to the north-west. He continued his idea of advancing towards Cairo; he was joined by his Turkish allies, and on the 20th of June he arrived at Embabeh before Giza.

Early in the morning of the 22d, an officer from Giza, with a flag of truce, was brought in; he came from General Belliard, to request that an English officer might

Proposals for Articles of Capitulation.

be sent to a conference ; and, as the matter was of high importance, it was entreated a general officer should be sent. General Hope was named ; he met a French Colonel of Engineers near Giza, and continued with him a long time.

General Morau and General Hope met under the trees near Giza ; three tents were pitched for them, and a guard of honour attended each.

General Morau declared, that the object of his instructions was the evacuation of Cairo, and the return of the garrison to France ; to arrange which, General Hope, on the part of the English ; Isaac Bey, for the Captain Pacha ; Mohammed Pacha, for the Vizier ; and Osman Bey, for the Mamelukes, were appointed ; and on the part of the French, General Douzelot and Colonel Tarayre were negociators. The conferences broke up late in the evening, when a cessation of hostilities for forty-eight hours was proclaimed. So long an armistice was owing to General Belliard, who was obliged to call a council of war, which the duty of the superior officers, being very severe, made it difficult.

The conferences proceeded ; the line of demarkation was settled, and the Turks were warned of the consequences which must arise from their encroaching on the French line.

On the 27th the capitulation was signed, but the articles were not published to the English army till a copy, printed by General Belliard was got from Cairo. The 30th regiment took possession of a fort, and the grenadiers and some of the body guards of the Captain Pacha, the gate of Giza. This was a compliment paid individually to him by General Belliard, as the French had expressly stated that no Turks were to take possession of the forts.

The Articles signed and ratified.

Hostages were interchanged by the several armies, and the commissioners having met, agreed upon the articles, which were in substance as follows :—

That the French forces and their auxiliaries should evacuate Cairo, and all Egypt which they occupy, and retire to Rosetta, where they are to be embarked, and conveyed to French ports in the Mediterranean ; to take place as soon as possible ; hostilities to cease on both sides.

The city of Cairo and its dependencies to be evacuated within twelve days ; the march of the French troops to be regulated by officers named by each party ; the baggage and other articles, transported by water, to be escorted by French detachments and armed boats of the allied powers ; the French to be subsisted on their march according to the French regulations, and when embarked, according to the naval regulations of England.

Vessels to be provided to take all the French, and those inclined to follow them ; all matters to be regulated by a commissary named for this purpose ; four vessels to be provided for horses, water-casks, and forage ; a sufficient convoy to be provided ; and the vessels which carry home the French troops shall not be detained in French ports after the men have disembarked, nor to be molested on their return ; the sick to be sent to France when recovered ; all prisoners to be set at liberty immediately ; hostages of equal rank to be exchanged from all the armies, to be released when the French troops are landed in France. This convention to be sent to General Menou, who may accept of it, if he pleases, for the forces under him.

This convention was signed, and ratified by Belliard,

general of division at Cairo. It crowned the daring march which General Hutchinson persevered in, secured Egypt, and hastened the fall of Alexandria.

It may be said, that the terms granted to the French were too lenient; they certainly obtained a very mild capitulation, such as our own countrymen in rebellion would get. The garrison of Cairo, as to strength, is an argument, however, against this; for the French commissary, according to the capitulation, demanded no less than 17,000 daily rations. This, added to other considerations, will materially justify the leniency.

The Grand Vizier reviewed his army, and General Kleber's coffin was removed from Fort Ibrahim Bey, as the French resolved to carry his remains to France. The Vizier arrived as the French commenced firing their minute guns, which were answered by the English. Sir Robert Wilson observes, "that the French lines were a gloomy seat of mourning; for as at the obsequies of Kleber, sorrow agitated every heart as the coffin passed, every soldier felt that therein their benefactor, a father's bones reposed; they dwelt on his purity, reflected on his fate, and Kleber became deified and adored. Had Bonaparte witnessed this scene, he would have perhaps regretted the exclamation he made use of, when Kleber, wishing to heal up some difference between them, began his note with the fraternal term of "Comrade."—"Camarade! Camarade! *Qu'est ce qui y a de commun entre Kleber et moi?*"

"It was lucky for Bonaparte that the hand of the assassin deprived Kleber of life; he was resolved to take ample vengeance, nor did personal resentment alone urge him.

General Baird, with an Army, arrives from India.

The French evacuated Cairo in the night of the 10th, and sent notice to Colonel Stuart. An arrangement had been made previously, that when Cairo was taken possession of, part of the Pacha's body guard should enter also; but, as the evacuation was not known till very late at night, the Quarter-Master General directed the 39th to march and occupy the citadel. The Captain Pacha, when he knew this, could scarcely be appeased, though every circumstance was explained to him.

The French totally evacuated Giza on the 15th of July, and with the allied army began their march for Rosetta. General Hutchinson remained at Cairo, both as he was ill, and that he wished to settle the government of Egypt.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

AN officer arrived on the 16th of July, with intelligence from General Baird of his having arrived; he sailed from India in December, to co-operate with the army from Europe destined to invade Egypt; and some troops from the Cape were to join him in the Red Sea. He meant to land at Suez, and act from circumstances, as at the distance he was, nothing positive could be prescribed. He arrived at Cossir the 8th of June, but most of the army was still missing, and the troops from the Cape had not arrived. He prepared, however, to pass the desert, and

General Hutchinson receives the Order of the Bath.

soon found himself provided with 5000 camels. He set out, and arranged the march for the remaining divisions; he established wells at the different posts in the desert, and dug others. His collected force in the latter end of July, when several detachments were missing, amounted to 5226 rank and file. We give the exact number of troops in that expedition, because General Regnier has urged such falsehoods on this point.

The French army, who had evacuated Cairo, continued their march towards Rosetta, and at Derout the French passed the English to be ready for embarkation. The real state of this army was then discovered, as the principal English officers saw them pass by a narrow place in file; they saw an army of above 10,000 men, with 50 pieces of artillery, independent of the guards in the dgerms. The wisdom of the capitulation of Cairo was then fully felt.

General Hutchinson arrived at Rosetta on the 29th of July. He had previously received the letter announcing the King's approbation of his conduct, and of his being decorated with the Order of the Bath. He left the Mamelukes at Cairo full of gratitude. His health being very bad he went on board Lord Keith's ship, trusting that the sea air would recover him. Here he purposed to remain till the army of Cairo joined General Coote before Alexandria.

Menou received the news of the surrender of Cairo with great vexation; he was anxious that General Beliard should have held out, as the reinforcements expected by Admiral Gantheaume might have made a great change in affairs; the negociations for peace he knew too were commenced; and when the Nile rose the siege could not be carried on.

Letter from Menou to General Hutchinson.

The army from Cairo having joined that before Alexandria, General Hutchinson resolved to besiege Alexandria ; to commence operations sooner was impossible, as the boats were employed in embarking the French.

About 4000 men embarked and sailed on the inundation ; their instructions were given them, the left column to storm the Green Hill on the right of the French line, and the right to occupy the Nole Hill, a little way in front of the left of the French ; little opposition was made, and the works, which were open batteries, were taken possession of ; the artillery had been previously removed ; when the French found their picquets attacked, they kept up a heavy fire for three hours.

Fort Marabout was bombarded, and the celerity with which the guns had been brought, shewed much zeal, as they were carried over almost inaccessible rocks. On the Isle of Marabout, the French had constructed a strong fort ; but the Isle being small, shot could sweep over it. General Coote, wishing to spare blood, summoned the French commandant, who hesitated to capitulate ; but the certain fate of the garrison being represented to him if he refused to surrender, he at last consented. The articles sent were soon agreed on, and the fort was taken possession of ; ten pieces of cannon, and 168 prisoners were taken.

An aide-du-camp of General Menou brought a letter addressed to General Hutchinson ; as this was the first communication Menou had permitted by land, it was generally believed he wished to surrender ; it was, however, merely complimentary, for the attention shewn his wounded officers and soldiers, and recommending the garrison of Marabout to a brave army, and requested his brother-in-law might be admitted into Alexandria, and

Articles of Capitulation brought in.

some trunks belonging to his wife. This letter was looked on as a preliminary.

The English army made various movements; the French fire was silenced, and finding that they had withdrawn their guns, the English batteries ceased to fire.

The first aide-du-camp of General Menou came in the evening of the 26th with a letter to demand an armistice for three days, while he might prepare articles of capitulation; this was agreed to, and hostilities were to cease immediately; but the date of the armistice was only to commence from the time the French fired three unshotted guns, to be returned by three from the British, when the colours of both armies were to be lowered from the flag-staff; this was to take place at twelve next day.

An officer arrived from the Indian army with news that General Baird would reach Rosetta in a day or two; throughout the whole Egyptian war this army arrived too late; there must have been neglect in some place.

General Menou's aide-du-camp on the 29th came in, but in place of the articles of capitulation, he brought a proposal to continue the armistice for thirty-six hours. General Hutchinson was much incensed at this, and wrote back that he should order hostilities to recommence at twelve at night. At nine, however, the aide-du-camp returned, and told him that proposals should be sent next day by two o'clock; this was accepted; the next day at one o'clock, two officers arrived at the headquarters with the articles of capitulation; many were refused, yet the purpose of surrendering was confirmed. The articles were returned at night; agreed to as corrected by General Hutchinson. General Hope went into Alexandria next day to begin them. General Me-

The Army take Possession of their new Position.

nou received him with great attention ; and invited him to dinner. The repast was only horse flesh.

Lord Keith came on shore to ratify the terms. General Menou was entitled to all that a brave but unfortunate officer could expect from a generous enemy ; and General Hutchinson acceded every indulgence not incompatible with his duty to his country and the interests of his army.

The articles were in number twenty-two ; they were much more favourable than circumstances warranted, yet we cannot help expressing our wonder that Menou, who so pompously declared his determination to bury himself in the ruins of Alexandria, should capitulate without risking any decisive action.

On the 3rd of September the grenadiers of the army, with drums beating, colours flying, and a proportion of field pieces, marched to take possession of their new position. Alexandria was defended by 312 pieces of cannon chiefly brass, and seventy-seven were found in the ships of war, put on board latterly ; a great quantity of powder was also left in the powder magazines.

The return of the garrison of Alexandria given in by General Menou, was in toto of the military and civil departments, 11,213 ; with such a force it must be confessed, that Menou, entrenched within a fortified town, capitulated dishonourably as a military man ; and the victory of the 21st, will reflect constant honour on the British arms. The city of Alexandria is small, its population never exceeded 7000 souls, and since the arrival of the French it is lessened ; the houses are all white, and it has a more lively appearance than any other city in Egypt.

The despatches relative to this business, were sent home by Colonel Abercrombie, son to the lamented Ge-

The French Troops embark.

neral, who met his fate on the 21st. General Hutchinson relates the principal occurrences in a manly and energetic manner, far superior to the pompous, mock-heroic despatches of the French Generals during the revolution.

Despatches were sent to Constantinople by the wish of the Captain Pacha. The utmost joy was manifested in that great city, the cannon of the Seraglio were fired, and the city was splendidly illuminated; fifty gold medals were struck by the sultan's orders, with the crescent and star in the centre, and a suitable inscription, to be distributed among the English officers in Egypt. A palace was built in Pera, for the future residence of the English ambassador at the Ottoman Porte.

Some difference of opinion had arisen between General Menou and General Hutchinson about the antiquities and collections. Menou at last gave up, adding, that he certainly must yield to a General supported by so many thousand men, and with such an artillery. This was mean, and beneath the gentleman and soldier. General Hutchinson answered, these reproaches were not handsome, as he never reflected on him for suffering an inferior army to gain the country.

The first division of the French marched to Aboukir on the 14th of September, and embarked.

Despatches arrived from England next day. General Moore was ordered home with all despatch. Lord Cavan was left in command of Egypt, and General Hutchinson had leave to return home.

The English lost in this arduous contest, twenty-four officers, and about seven or 800 privates. How different the fate of France, who lost no less than from thirty to 40,000 of its best troops, and had its navy almost anni-

Sir Ralph Abercrombie buried at Malta.

hilated. Of all the French sent to Egypt in the course of three years, there returned 23,000; they were accompanied by several hundreds of the natives of both sexes; they lost in addition, in different actions, 1000 pieces of cannon, besides near 500 unserviceable pieces, guns in boats, &c. they lost a fleet of men of war, and 200 sail of merchantmen.

The English enriched England with a number of monuments and remains of ancient sculpture, which the French meant to have carried with them to Paris.

The joy in England was excessive at the successful termination of the war in Egypt, and all wished to pay some mark of respect to the brave men who had sustained the honour of the British name in so noble a manner. The thanks of both houses of parliament were voted; a cenotaph to the memory of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, a peerage to his widow, and a pension of 2000*l.* a-year. General Hutchinson was created a peer, and a pension of 2000*l.* a-year settled on him. Admiral Keith was also created a British peer. General Coote, invested with the Order of the Bath, and each regiment on that service allowed to carry a sphinx in their colours, and the word "Egypt" inscribed. The Grand Signior established an order of knighthood, which he named the "Order of the Crescent," which included the general officers of the English army and naval officers of equal rank.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie was carried to Malta, and there buried in one of the bastions of La Valette. A tombstone of black marble with an inscription in Latin, marks the spot of his interment.

Thus ended the Egyptian expedition, with glory to England and not without it to France; the vexation of Bonaparte must have been great at such a termination;

The Beys murdered by the Turks.

he had formed hopes of humbling England, and was disappointed ; he, however, consoled the French nation with the reflection, “ that the army of the East had left an immortal memory in Egypt.” True, but it was a most disgraceful one.

From the beginning of the war in Egypt, the Porte secretly meant to change the government of that country, while the Grand Vizier and Captain Pacha held out to the Beys and Mamelukes that their authority would be restored on the destruction of the infidels. When the French were expelled from Egypt, seven of the Beys were invited to Alexandria to meet the Captain Pacha respecting arrangements for their re-establishment ; they were received with hospitality and respect ; he treacherously engaged them to go on board a ship of war with him, but when they were in the boats, they recollected the advice given them so frequently by General Hutchinson, not to trust themselves in Turkish vessels ; and they dreaded some violence. When they were on board the frigate, they desired to be re-landed, but the officers refused to comply with their requests. The Beys began to use force ; a conflict ensued, in which four of them were killed and three wounded. The Grand Vizier attempted at the same time to secure as many Beys as he could by fraud or force.

When General Hutchinson was informed of this, he ordered his troops under arms, and in a menacing tone reclaimed the wounded Beys, and the dead for honourable burial, and also those who were in the hands of the Vizier. The Captain Pacha laid the disaster of the seven Beys to their own suspicions, which, he said, were without foundation. He acted very highly, and affected to treat General Hutchinson as the guest of the Grand

Bonaparte congratulated on his Peace with Austria.

Signior. General Hutchinson, however, demanded the freedom of the Beys, which was granted.

They, however, foresaw the evacuation of Egypt, and the power of the Turks established by the removal of the English ; they, therefore, listened to the promises of the Captain Pacha ; and the Grand Vizier, confirmed by their oaths on the Koran, of protection, favour, and preferment, if they acknowledged the Sultan ; they agreed to give up any pretensions to authority in Egypt, and gave their consent in writing. The Porte then governed Egypt by Pachas.

Thus ended the French revolution in Egypt ; rendered abortive by the arms of Great Britain.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

BONAPARTE having made peace with Austria, bent his attention towards England : though he might not have any hopes of doing any thing important against this country, yet the seeming to do so would assist him in two ways ; it would keep the army employed, and give the Parisians something to keep up their attention, and thus prevent them from considering too closely his newly obtained power, and would also keep Great Britain on the alert, and prepare for a general pacification.

He was congratulated by all the different authorities on the peace he had concluded with Austria ; he replied

The Emperor Paul displeased with England.

that France will not enjoy all the blessings of peace, till that is concluded with England ; but that government holds nothing sacred, and all the powers of the continent must reduce her to equity and reason. Such was his language towards this country, and a similarity has prevailed ever since.

It will be remembered, that after he had assumed the Consulate, he made overtures of peace to this country in a letter to the king, waving the usual diplomatic forms ; these were rejected through the influence of Mr. Pitt, who having declared he never would make peace with Bonaparte, now urged the probable insecurity of the French Government, and the folly of making peace with a power that might cease to be in existence ere the articles could be drawn up.

Having failed in his attempt at making peace, (the sincerity of which is doubtful,) he endeavoured to revive the armed neutrality of 1780 ; the principle of which was that free and neutral bottoms made free and neutral goods ; the fallacy of this needs no refutation ; it was enough, however, for him that the idea flattered the wishes of maritime powers ; he insinuated through his ministers at Petersburgh, Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Berlin, that the situation of Europe was encouraging, and they might compel England to make peace on equitable terms.

The Emperor Paul of Russia had been irritated against the courts of Vienna and London, but chiefly against the latter ; much discontent took place between the Russians and English Generals, after the unlucky expedition to Holland in 1799. When the emperor had vented his rage against his own officers, his resentment arose against the English, which was increased by the failure of his

Russian Ambassador's Reception at Paris.

schemes in the Mediterranean. His aim was to get a firm footing in that sea as well as the Northern ocean and the Baltic, and he fixed his eyes on Malta. A fleet with troops, sailed from the Black Sea to take possession of the place when it should surrender; no objections were made, when he ridiculously took the title of grand master of Malta, and when he made Sir Home Popham a knight; his right was in a manner acknowledged in the London Gazette. This fleet, when Malta was occupied by the English, remained some time at anchor in the canal of Constantinople, waiting for orders how to act.

The Emperor demanded from the Grand Seignior, the Ally of England, a large sum for the maritime aid of the Russians. A dispute arose on this subject, the Russian Admiral would not return to the Crimea till the money was paid, and even threatened Constantinople; and the Porte yielded to the menaces of the enraged Czar of Muscovy; on his irritable temper, Bonaparte operated with great success.

An embassy went from Russia to France, and Bonaparte flattered Paul by paying great attention to his representative. The ambassador was received with the greatest honours; the firing of guns announced his arrival at Paris; nothing he asked was refused. Paul was won by this splendid courtesy.

Prussia was the next power of importance against England; it has an extensive maritime coast, and the navigation of all the great rivers from the Rhine to the Eider. In order to bring this power into his views, he sent his brother Louis to Berlin. In his message to the different branches of the Legislature on the 13th of February, he avows his intentions; he says, the wish of France was to make the treaty of Luneville, one of ge-

The Northern Confederacy formed.

neral pacification, but the British ministry have done all they could to prevent it ; nothing satisfied Britain ; the commerce of Asia and immense colonies will not content her ; she must have the sovereignty of the seas ; the princes of the North unjustly attacked, have a right to the assistance of France, and the French nation will with them avenge an injury common to all nations.

The press was also busy in arming a confederacy against us ; publications were issued to shew that the great power of this country by sea should be resisted ; and it was foretold that the fate of Alexandria, Tyre, &c. would soon be the fate of England.

Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, entered into the Northern Confederacy with great avidity. Denmark had not been engaged in war for more than eighty years, yet she was the first, the last, and only power engaged in actual hostilities.

The first disturbance on the right of visitation by sea arose near Gibraltar between some English frigates and a Danish frigate. The English commander sent to know the destination of the Danes ; the answer was they were going to Gibraltar ; the English officer then replied, that if he stopped at Gibraltar, he would not visit his convoy, but if he did not anchor there, he certainly would visit him. The Danish Captain answered, that in such case he would make resistance. The signal was then made by the English Captain to examine the convoy, and the boat of the Emerald prepared to execute this order. Some musquetry was fired from the Danish frigate, and an English sailor wounded ; she also kept a boat of the English frigate, the Flora, and would not release it till the English Captain said that if not surrendered immediately he would commence hostilities. The Danish fri-

Difference between Denmark and Great Britain.

gate repaired to Gibraltar with its convoy. A discussion took place between Lord Keith, the naval commander, and the Danish captain, whom his lordship considered as responsible for the injury done to the British seaman; he said it was impossible the captain could have acted thus from the instructions of his court, and sent an officer to request the nature of the instructions might be explained. The Dane would not shew his instructions, as he said he was forbid to do so, but told the officer that he had only obeyed his orders. This affair was at last made up without any thing else than a disavowal.

As it was not the interest of Denmark to get into war with Great Britain, this resistance created much surprise; but this was excited more by an engagement between the Danish frigate, the Freya, in the channel, and no less than four English frigates, a brig and a lugger; the right of search was resisted, which brought a broadside from the English frigate which the Dane returned; she could not, however, sustain the unequal conflict, and struck her colours; the Freya had five men killed and five wounded; the English had five men killed and several wounded, the Danish frigate and her convoy were taken to the Downs.

Lord Whitworth was sent to the court of Denmark to reconcile the differences, supported by a squadron of nine sail of the line, four bomb ships, and five gun vessels, commanded by Vice-Admiral Dickson.

The court of Denmark was not prepared to resist such a mission; it was agreed that the Danish frigate and convoy at Deal were to be repaired by Great Britain, until the point of visiting the convoys was settled; the Danish ships were to sail under convoys only in the Mediterra-

The Emperor Paul embargoes all British Vessels.

nean to protect them from the Barbary Corsairs, but liable to be searched as heretofore.

The first imperial parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, met on the 22nd of January, 1801. Mr. Addington, their late speaker, was elected; the king, however, did not meet them till the 2nd of February, when he addressed them from the throne. He tells them that their astonishment as well as regret must be excited by the conduct of those powers whose attention seems engaged in striving to weaken the naval force of Britain; all the representations he has caused to be made to St. Petersburg have been treated with the greatest disrespect, and a convention has been concluded by the Northern Powers to establish by force, a new code of maritime laws inconsistent with and hostile to this country.

That he did not hesitate; he took measures to repel this hostile confederacy, and given assurances to renew his ancient relations with those powers when the honour of his crown and the safety of his subjects allow him to do so; and he firmly relies on their assistance; that it will afford him the truest satisfaction to terminate the contest with security and honour, and restore the blessings of peace.

The Emperor Paul being informed of the capture and detention of the Danish frigate and her convoy, laid an embargo on all English ships in his harbours, but this was taken off when the dispute was amicably adjusted; but his exertions to unite the Northern Powers with him against Great Britain, still continued. He recruited his army and navy, and the reason he gave in the Petersburg Gazette for keeping a large army on the side of the Baltic, was, that circumstances made his majesty the

British Property on Shore sequestered.

Emperor think that a rupture of the friendship between Russia and England might ensue. Preparations for war were actively carried on in all the Russian ports.

The rupture with England was announced by the publication of an official note sent to the foreign ministers at the Russian court in the Petersburg Gazette ; it stated, that Malta having been surrendered to the English, it was uncertain if the agreement would be fulfilled, by which it was to be restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, of which the Emperor of Russia was Grand Master ; he therefore commanded an embargo to be laid on all the English ships in Russian ports, till the convention should be fulfilled. The Russian envoy had orders to quit England, and proceed to Copenhagen where he was appointed ambassador.

From this order an embargo was laid on near 300 British ships in the principal ports ; but their officers and crews were sent into the country from a hundred to a thousand miles, in parties of ten or twelve and put into prison. British property on shore was sequestered ; seals placed wherever there were English goods, and the owners obliged to report their property to government.

Neither Denmark nor Sweden willingly agreed to the confederacy ; the trade of Denmark was flourishing, and they did not look with any pleasure on a war with England ; but the Emperor of Russia threatened her with all his severity if she continued in her prudent plan of neutrality ; but the right of search which Britain enforced more every day, made her place herself under the direction of the court of Berlin.

The King of Prussia was looked on universally as a party in the grand confederation : the mouths of some great rivers lay within the territories of which he was

The Danes take Possession of Hamburgh.

guardian, and made him act as if he was a great maritime power. Without Prussia the Northern Confederacy would have been incomplete, and its accession completely excluded the English from the continent from Petersburg to the straits of Gibraltar.

The British Government ordered a seizure on all ships of the confederate powers in British ports, except those of Prussia; and letters of marque were issued, in order to take many rich vessels known to be working their way to the Baltic. The British Court was inclined to deal with great delicacy towards Prussia, because she could distress Great Britain in every point, and annoy her sovereign by attacking Hanover; but at last what was dreaded actually happened, namely, the exclusion of the English trade from the great rivers of Prussia, and the invasion of Hanover.

Fifteen thousand Danish troops under Prince Charles of Hesse, Field Marshal in the Danish service, took possession of Hamburgh to stop British trade on the Elbe; an embargo had previously been laid on the British ships in the ports of Denmark.

When the Senate of Hamburgh knew the intentions of Prince Charles of Hesse, they sent deputies to his Highness to remonstrate against so violent a measure. The Prince, without hesitation, stated his intention of summoning the city to surrender, and if refused, to use force; but at the same time assured the deputies that the greatest attention should be paid, and he would be satisfied with possession of the gates and walls without quartering troops in the city. The Senate thought it better to yield to force than expose the city, and one of the gates and a part of the fortifications were given up to the Danes without any disturbance. The British Consul

A British Fleet passes the Sound.

advised the British captains in the Elbe to hasten their departure, some took the advice and others were detained.

The English Ministry sent a negociator, backed by a powerful fleet. Mr. Vansittart arrived at Elsineur in a frigate, with the powers of a plenipotentiary extraordinary. The English required that Denmark should secede from the northern alliance, a free passage through the Sound given to the English fleet, and that Danish ships should sail without convoy. This was rejected, and the ministers returned home.

A large fleet of ships of the line, bombs, and gunboats, in all fifty-two sail, with regiments of marines and riflemen, sailed from Yarmouth, and anchored on the northern coast of Zealand.

The Danes and Swedes had powerful navies, but the latter was thought to be better manned than either the fleets of Denmark or Russia. The navy of this latter power was eighty-two sail of the line, forty frigates, and many small craft, but some were unfit for service, and most part badly manned. This naval force united, might have been formidable to a British navy could they act in concert.

The British fleet passed the Sound, and anchored near the island of Huin; the Castle of Chronenburgh fired at it as it passed, and was bombarded in return.

An attack on the Danes being determined on, the Vice-Admiral, Lord Nelson, offered his services to conduct it.

The signal for the squadron to weigh was made on the morning of the 2d of April, and to engage the Danish fleet of six sail of the line, eleven floating batteries, and a bomb ship; these were supported by the Crown Islands,

Attack on Copenhagen.

mounting 88 cannon, and four sail of the line in the harbour's mouth, with some batteries on the Isle of Amack. The other seventeen sail, after four hours, were either sunk, burnt or taken; the loss was of course very heavy, it was stated at 943 killed and wounded. The carnage in the Danish ships was dreadful, it was calculated by their commander in chief, Fisher, at 1800. The vessels were crowded with men, and, from some singular cause, there was not a single surgeon on board the block ships. When Lord Nelson saw that the ships and batteries of the enemy were in his power, he wrote a letter to the Prince Royal to allow a flag of truce to pass, if not, he would destroy the floating batteries now in his power, and he could not save the brave men by whom they were defended. He received permission to land, and went on shore, where he was received by the generous Danes with the loudest acclamations, and treated by the Prince with every mark of respect and attention. An armistice took place, which led to an amicable convention.

This was a most bloody battle; the Danes fought nobly; Lord Nelson said to the aide-du-camp of the Crown Prince, that he had been in 105 engagements, but the one of that day was the most terrible of all.

Lord Nelson's proposals were not all agreed to. An armistice, however, was prolonged from day to day, and a notice of six hours in case of renewing hostilities on either side, was to be given.

At this period a fortunate event took place, the death of the Emperor Paul, who was the soul of this northern confederacy. He was found dead in his bed. This was joyful news to all except France, who had promised itself great advantages from Paul, which it could not hope from a prudent monarch.

Principal Articles of the Northern Convention.

It is not surprising, that so mad a sovereign should have enemies; it was given out that he died of an apoplexy; but it has since been well known, his death was the effect of a conspiracy. The new Emperor Alexander released all the British seamen imprisoned by Paul; peace was re-established between the Courts of London and Petersburg, and all disputes between Great Britain and the Northern Powers were amicably adjusted; and a convention was agreed on between England and Russia.

The principal articles of this convention were relative to the goods to be looked on as contraband, and the right of search. No vessels but ships of war of the powers were to be allowed this privilege. Much was said on the subject of neutrals, and care seemed to be taken of their interest; all on board them, except what was particularly named as contraband, was to be free; their navigation to be free to all places belonging to those with whom the parties are at war; that when stopped they are to be tried without delay, and orders to be given to the captains not to take on board any thing accounted as contraband; all vessels to be considered as the property of the country whose flag it carries, and the captain and one half of the crew must be people of that country.

By this convention the Northern Powers obtained a limitation to the right of search, and a diminution of articles looked on as contraband of war. The negociation, however, could not be finally settled at once, several articles and explanations were afterwards added; one was to take off all sequestration on Russian, Danish, and Swedish properties, detained in English ports, and to continue the armistice with the Northern powers for three months. Another related to the owners of vessels being paid so much per day in case of a groundless detention;

and the strictest inquiry to take place relative to the proceedings of the prize courts of either power ; effects not to be sold without sufficient cause being shewn to the court of admiralty ; and the captors not to unload of their own authority.

Pending this negociation we had twenty-five sail of the line, and near forty-five frigates, sloops, bombs, and gun-vessels in the Baltic. The Danish troops evacuated Ham-burgh, and the navigation of the Elbe, Weser, and Ems was restored ; and the Court of Berlin agreed that Han-over should be evacuated.

Denmark, the only sufferer in this war, was not slow to enter into peace ; she recognized the treaty between England and Russia, and Sweden followed her example. Thus was this famous conspiracy broken.

There was much joy at the termination of hostilities between Great Britain and Denmark. When the embargo laid on the Danish ships in British ports was taken off, the expense was paid out of the English treasury. This was equally gratifying to both countries.

Bonaparte was much annoyed by this amicable settlement of our affairs in the North ; and receiving constant news of the success of our arms in Egypt, felt himself cut off, as it were, from annoying us extremely. England, he saw, would always be an impediment in his way—a constant enemy, which would continually excite his alarms, and might eventually annihilate his navy, and shake his power.

We really believe, that he never deemed it possible to do any thing on our shores, whatever he may have appeared to have thought, nor ever had a hope of conquering us on land. His favourite plan was to destroy our commerce, and shut us in our island ; but other

Universal Threats of invading England.

schemes must be resorted to, the chief of which was invasion.

We cannot forget how the alarm was rung in our ears ; a French army was daily expected to land, march up to London, confine the King in the Tower, murder the Princes, marry the Princesses to French Generals, and seat a Bonaparte on the throne of England. Greater fears than these were spread ; we were to be annihilated. England was to be a French colony, and a maritime department ; but an ardour and a proud defiance prevailed throughout the kingdom, and had it come to the issue, our brave troops might have been compared to the Lacedemonians opposing the torrents of Xerxes.

A grand camp was formed at Amiens, and was strengthened from time to time ; others were formed in Flanders, and one at Boulogne, the principal point from whence the invading army was to proceed. Numbers of troops occupied these camps, and among them many emigrant Irishmen. Ship-building was carried on with great activity along the Dutch and Flemish coasts, as also those of France. Numerous armies were to be carried over to England in French and Spanish ships. The islands of Jersey and Guernsey were to be immediately invaded ; and the combined fleets of France and Spain, at Brest, amounted to fifty-two sail of the line.

The sea coast of France was divided into six maritime prefectures ; vessels of all descriptions were equipped all along the coasts, and every thing to protect the shores.

These preparations were seen by the British Government with prudent anxiety ; they did not fear the issue, yet did not despise the attempt. The nation was ready to meet the French, relying on the old maxim, that “ One Englishman can beat two Frenchmen.” For, not-

withstanding the great successes of the French on the Continent, and their great claims to heroism and courage, yet the British army, we are confident, cherished that opinion of their superiority.

All England assumed a warlike appearance—all took up arms—volunteers daily underwent the severest discipline—the mechanic and the tradesman forsook his tools and shop, and marched with the musket on his shoulder; strong picquets were mounted along the coasts, and orders given for the volunteers of the south to be ready to march at a moment's warning. Four parks of artillery were kept in readiness at Woolwich; the horses were harnessed in the centre, and the drivers and engineers slept on the spot. A system of night-signals was employed along the channel to give notice of any danger. Our navy was immense, our fleets, squadrons, and cruisers, blockaded the enemy in their ports, and annoyed their trade in every quarter.

Two British ships at this time were taken by the French, the one the *Swiftsure*, was taken by the whole French fleet under Gantheaume, in the Mediterranean, the other by the squadron under Admiral Linois, near Cadiz. This squadron was laying at anchor off Algesiras; Rear-Admiral Sir James Saumarez went in quest of them; he found them, and resolved to attack them. In the course of the attack the *Hannibal* unfortunately ran aground. Every exertion was made to get between the French batteries and the *Hannibal*, to enable her to get out of the difficulty she had got into; but this could not be done, and the *Hannibal* being left, struck her colours.

This caused great exultation in France and Spain; it was announced at all the theatres in Paris, that six English ships of the line were either taken or beaten back

into Gibraltar by three French ships. The 5th of July was called the naval Marengo; and the French inferred, that their navy, with attention, would combat for the empire of the seas; such were the hopes from this victory in miniature.

A second action was fought soon after this by Sir James Saumarez, in which he was victorious. The three French line of battle ships were reinforced by five Spanish, under Don Juande Moreno, who commanded the gun-boats in the attack on Gibraltar, in 1782. Here was likewise a French 74, with a broad pendant, besides three frigates, and an incredible number of gun-boats and other vessels; they had added the Hannibal, which they got off from where she had struck. The English Admiral was fearful he should be unable to get sufficient force to oppose such a number, but he determined, if possible, to obstruct the passage of this powerful force to Cadiz. He stood for them, and the *Superb* opened her fire close to them; the *Cæsar* came up, and was preparing to engage a three-decker, when she saw she was in flames, and they having communicated to a ship to leeward of her, they were both in a blaze. As no assistance could be offered, the *Cæsar* passed on. The *San Antonio*, of 74 guns, and 730 men, hauled down her colours to the *Superb*. The enemy carried a press of sail, and were standing out of the straits, and the English lost sight of them in the night. Captain Keates, of the *Superb*, says, that the three-decker was the *Royal Charles*, of 112 guns; he soon perceived the ship he was engaging to be on fire; he ceased to molest her, and went on to the ship next at hand, the *San Antonio*, under French colours, manned equally with French and Spanish seamen, who struck her colours. From the few survivors of the ships that caught fire and

blew up, who reached the *Superb* in an open boat, while she was taking possession of the *San Antonio*, he learned that the *San Hermenegildo*, of 112 guns, mistook the *Royal Charles* for an enemy, ran on board her, and shared her melancholy fate. The French magnified the escape of the *Formidable* from the *Venerable* into a wonderful naval victory.

During this time some changes took place in England, Mr. Pitt resigned his place, and Mr. Addington was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. His Majesty recommended in a message to the House of Commons, to secure a pension of 1000*l.* a year upon Sir Sidney Smith, for his eminent services, and his gallant defence of Acre. This was something for important services; but why should he remain undistinguished by any title, for his services in his country's defence? Parliament was prorogued on the 2d of July by a speech read by the Lord Chancellor. This speech, in the King's name, thanks them for their attention to their duty, and commends the wisdom and temper which have marked their proceedings, and particularly for the measures they have suggested to alleviate the pressure felt by the high price of corn; he thanks them for their liberal supplies, and trusts they will soon have peace on fair and honourable terms; that if they do not arrive at that state of happiness, the spirit of his people will be manifested by necessary sacrifices.

Bonaparte, thus baffled in his northern alliance, resolved to forsake for a time the element of the seas, and to attack us by a route he deemed more successful. Portugal, our faithful ally, attracted his ambition, and served him to sound the alarm of war; it was looked on by the French as a mere colony of the English. The Portuguese wished to continue in habits of friendship with us,

Portugal to be attached to France and Spain.

and were proud of our protection. Had the English Government supplied them with an army as well as a navy, the fate of Portugal would cheerfully have been embarked with that of Great Britain. For some time our ministers seemed resolved to defend Portugal, and Spain offered herself as a mediator between France and Portugal; but the British would not consent to this; they chose to attempt to rouse the Portuguese to war, and promised them military succours provided Britain appointed a commander in chief, the one then at the head of the military, not having talents to act sufficiently judicious for his country. The Court of Lisbon agreed, that if England furnished 25,000 men she might appoint a commander. This they could not accede to in England, and the force intended for Portugal was sent to Egypt.

The policy of Bonaparte seemed to be then as now, to allow of no neutral states. Spain declared war against Portugal. About a month afterwards the latter power issued a sort of proclamation of defence, which was spirited and manly; active measures were adopted by the Government, yet it was easy to see, that neither Portugal nor Spain willingly got into war. Preparations were, however, made for actual hostilities; arms were placed in the hands of every man able to bear them; a force was immediately raised, but the numbers were not ascertained; Government borrowed the plate of the churches, which was placed in the hands of individuals, for money advanced; an increase of one-third was made to the daily pay of the soldiers, and every thing wore the appearance of defence against a serious invasion.

Portugal was to be attacked by the French and Spaniards in two directions; the former were to march towards Oporto and Lisbon, and the latter to penetrate into

Madeira taken possession of by the British.

Alentejo. The Spanish army under the Prince of Peace, from 30 to 40,000 strong, entered Alentejo, and soon reduced all the magazines and strong places. Preliminaries of peace were signed at Badajoz on the 6th of June. Olivenza was ceded to Spain, and the ports of Portugal shut against the English.

Shut up by the power of the French by land and that of the English by sea, the state of Portugal was perilous; the English envoy at Lisbon remonstrated against this peace till his Court was consulted. At this the Portuguese Government was greatly hurt, for, in fact, Portugal had rather to complain of Great Britain. After this note was presented he wrote to the English Consul, to intimate to the British merchants to be ready to depart at a moment's notice; but the Prince Regent invited them to remain, with assurance of protection.

When Bonaparte was invited to accede to the preliminaries of Badajoz he refused; he said it would be the eventual loss of Trinidad, which must be ceded to the British nation, if the occupation of some ports in Portugal by French troops, did not enable the French Government to offer the Cabinet of London an option, which it might, perhaps, prefer to the Spanish island. The French proceeded to invade Portugal; an army 30,000 strong, under General Le Clerc, with a great train of artillery, entered Portugal, invested Almeida, and menaced Oporto and Lisbon.

The British sent out a squadron with troops to take possession of the island of Madeira; it arrived there on the 23d of July; the next day a negociation was begun, and before night half the force was landed and encamped; the remainder landed the next day, and the officers who commanded the expedition having satisfied the Governor

Treaty between France and Portugal.

of the friendly intentions of the English towards the Portuguese, had the forts which command Funchal Bay given up to him.

The Portuguese issued fresh edicts for military conscription ; large bounties were offered to seamen to man six ships of the line, to join the English fleet at Cadiz ; the English subsidy of 300,000*l.* gave new vigour to the Portuguese exertions, and succours in men were expected from England ; the utmost activity existed in every branch, and Portugal seemed resolved to defend herself. Her army, however, did not exceed 25,000 men ; in this number were three regiments of loyal French emigrants, and some English cavalry ; the head-quarters were at Abrantes, and the Duke of Alfoens was Commander in Chief.

The Duke left Abrantes, in July, to the command of General Forbes, and went with the main army to occupy such positions as might check the French, but, in the mean time peace was concluded at Madrid on the 29th of September, between the French Republic and Portugal.

By this treaty all the ports and roads of Portugal were to be shut against the English vessels of war and trade, and open to the republic and her allies, Portugal engaging not to furnish any succours of any description to the enemies of France during the war. The boundaries of French and Portuguese Guyana were settled, and such Indians as had been carried off to be restored. A treaty of commerce to be negotiated between the two powers ; the citizens and subjects of the two powers to enjoy in the states of both all the rights which the most favoured nations enjoy ; French cloths to be imported into Portugal.

Lord Nelson attacks Boulogne.

By this treaty no portion of Portugal was given to Spain, but the interests of France were studied in regard to commercial relations.

While Bonaparte was carrying on this business, his active mind did not neglect his other plans; the menaces of invading England were carried on under the idea of flat-bottomed boats. The English, however, resolved not to wait an attack quietly, but to shew our enemies that we were not only able to defend our own shores, but carry war even to theirs. While the plan for invading this country was at its height, it was determined that Lord Nelson should carry war to the doors of France.

While this gallant hero was preparing, all intercourse between England and the opposite coast was stopped; no persons were allowed to land from France, Flanders, or Holland; and thus, instead of attacking England, the French were employed in getting ready for defence against the English armaments; all along the coast the greatest preparations were made for resistance.

Lord Nelson hoisted his flag on board the *Leyden*, of 68 guns, at Deal, and took the command of a secret expedition; in all he had about forty sail, a number of bombs, gun-boats, and armed pinnaces; he shifted his flag to the *Medusa* frigate.

The squadron stood over to Boulogne, where the attack was to be made, on the 1st of August. Here the enemy had assembled all their small craft for the invasion; there was an extensive encampment on each side of the town. His Lordship stood close into Boulogne, and threw some bombs. Finding they reached the shore, he recalled the vessels, and the whole anchored about four miles from the land. He planned the attack for next day and gave out his orders accordingly. His first idea was

Attack on Boulogne.

to attack the enemy's vessels with bombs alone, as they reached farther than shot. Orders had been given to annoy the town as little as possible. His fleet stood in at high water, and kept up a tremendous fire. Six French vessels were so damaged that they were towed away, five were got into the mole, four sunk, and one bulged.

Having made this partial attack, which, as he said in his despatches, "would at least convince the enemy they could not come out of their harbours with impunity," he sailed with part of his fleet to Margate Roads; many of his gun-boats returned to Deal, and a force remained off Boulogne. He sailed again on the 8th, as if he meant to attack some port on the Dutch coast, but Boulogne was his point. He wished to bring off the enemy's flotilla, moored in front of Boulogne, amounting to twenty-five armed vessels.

This desperate attempt was made at night on the 13th of August. The force collected for this attack amounted to about seventy vessels, with some thousands of marines. Our vessels were to form in four divisions, to storm the French line of boats, brigs, and luggers, defended by long poles, projecting from their sides, headed by spikes of iron, and a strong netting braced up to their lower yards, moored with iron chains across the harbour, and each having about 200 soldiers, protected by the land batteries, and musquetry from the shore. The enemy had erected batteries wherever they could be of use, since the first bombardment, and the army occupied nearly three miles in a line; but the vessels being fastened to one another, and to the ground, by strong iron chains, was not known to the English. That, however, was the case; and to that was owing the preservation of the French flotilla. Fire-arms were forbidden to the British

The English unsuccessful in the Attack on Boulogne.

seamen, lest they should alarm the enemy before they were well up with their boats.

The plan of this attack was well arranged, and every matter well disposed of; it was conducted with the utmost bravery, and many heroic actions were performed; but the strong netting on the sides of the enemy's vessels prevented the boarding taking place. Captain Parker, and two-thirds of the men in his boat, were either killed or desperately wounded. Only one French lugger was brought off, with a lieutenant and eighteen men, all that remained out of double that number, which she had.

The loss of the English in this attack was more than 200 killed and wounded. Captain Parker lost a leg and thigh. The French loss must have been considerable, for they poured vollies of musketry into their own boats and brigs, after they had fallen into the hands of the English, without paying any regard to their own men. The French Admiral acknowledges the daring intrepidity of our men, and that they were obliged to retire from being unable to get the ships off, from their being chained. He describes the shocking sight on board their vessels after the action; the decks covered with dead and dying, and mutilated limbs every where discovered after the bodies were thrown into the sea.

Lord Nelson attributes the want of success to the darkness of the night, the rapidity of the tide, and the divisions not arriving at the same time with Capt. Parker.

Part of the fleet, with Lord Nelson, returned to the Downs, the remainder continued on the French coast.

Preliminaries of Peace signed by England and France.

CHAPTER XC.

BONAPARTE was convinced that an invasion of England was impracticable in his present situation ; and our bravery off Boulogne shewed, that instead of invading our shores, they must be vigilant indeed to preserve their own from insult, and protect their scanty shipping.

Every thing cried aloud for peace ; the continent metamorphosed ; almost all its states under the power of Bonaparte, and England and France alone carrying on the war ; yet peace was pursued under all the appearance of war. All wore the aspect of the most inveterate hostility ; both sides were employed in making and repelling invasion, and British fleets threatened the coasts of France, Flanders, and Holland. Flags of truce were daily passing between Calais and Dover. The business was carried on with great and proper secrecy on both sides. At length, on the 2d of October, the London Gazette Extraordinary announced, “ that preliminaries of peace between his Majesty and the French Republic were signed last night in Downing-street, by Lord Hawkesbury on the part of his Majesty, and by Mr. Otto on the part of the French Government.

In the preliminary articles it was agreed, that England should restore all the conquests made during the war, except the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon ; the Cape of Good Hope to be open to both parties ; Malta to be given to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and to be placed under the direc-

Great Joy in England on the Ratification of the Preliminaries of Peace.

tion of a third power ; Egypt to be restored to the Sublime Porte ; the French forces to evacuate Naples and the Roman territory, and the English all the ports and islands in the Mediterranean or the Adriatic ; the Republic of the Seven Islands to be acknowledged by the French Republic ; all prisoners to be restored on paying their debts ; the fisheries on the coast of Newfoundland and the Gulph of St. Lawrence, to be on the same footing as before the war ; all fortifications to be given up in their present state ; no person to be molested on account of their attachment to either of the powers. Fifteen days to be allowed for the ratification of the preliminaries, and plenipotentiaries to repair to Amiens to settle a definitive treaty along with the Allies of the contracting powers.

The ratification took place at Paris on the 5th of October, and was exchanged between Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Otto on the 12th. It was brought to London by Colonel Lauriston, an Aide-du-Camp and favourite of Bonaparte. His family, though naturalized in France, was of British extraction ; he was great grandson of the famous Mr. Law, the Mississippi man, a gentleman of an ancient family, that of Lauriston, in Scotland.

The greatest joy prevailed throughout England on this occasion ; illuminations, feasting, and every expression of satisfaction, carried, in many instances to an astonishing degree, expressed the joy of France. It was the same in England ; the news of Colonel Lauriston's arrival soon spread and attracted crouds of the populace ; on his arrival he went to Mr. Otto's house, in Hereford-street ; after a stay of about an hour, the Colonel, Mr. Otto, and two other French gentlemen, got into their carriage to exchange the ratifications with Lord Hawkesbury. The populace took the horses from their carriage, and

Peace between France and Bavaria.

drew it with loud acclamations, and on their return paid their French visitors the same compliment. Some of the guards were in the escort, to prevent riot, and compliment the welcome strangers. Colonel Lauriston gave the populace ten guineas to drink. He was a handsome young man, of a genteel and pleasing address. While he staid in London, which was only a few days, he never appeared in public without attracting a croud, and was always greeted with huzzas.

The joy on this great event was so great that it eclipsed all its errors; yet, perhaps, there was not a reflecting mind that did not lament so little had been produced advantageous to the country. The feelings of discontent were increased by the accounts of our successes in Egypt, and the final expulsion of the French from that country. While our brave countrymen were bearing every hardship, a peace, not an honourable one, was concluded in London, and their fellow-citizens filling the air with shouts, and, like beasts, dragging two or three Frenchmen through the streets.

Peace was proclaimed in every part of the world; packets were regularly interchanged between France and England. In both countries the recruiting service was discontinued, and bodies of troops were disbanded. Addresses poured in to the Chiefs of both countries. Bonaparte patched up a peace with the Ottoman Porte, by which France was admitted to all the privileges of the most favoured nations.

A peace was also concluded between the French Republic and the Elector of Bavaria, by which that Prince gave up to France all claim to what he had possessed on the left bank of the Rhine; and the French guaranteed all his possessions on the right bank.

The Roman Catholic Religion re-established in France.

Though the Emperor Paul was as zealous a friend to France as he was an enemy to Great Britain, his former engagements with the British Government were not retracted by any pacification with France, a treaty of Peace was signed between France and Russia, on the 17th of October, by which France acquired great commercial advantages.

The famous *Concordat* followed, which was to re-establish in France the public worship of the Catholic Religion. All the French bishops were to resign, those who acknowledged the revolution, and those who had embraced the hard fate of emigration. The sees were to be filled up by those presented to the First Consul, and confirmed by the Pope, as before the revolution. The Catholic Religion was to be held as that of the majority of the French; its ministers were to have salaries, and the sale of ecclesiastical property was sanctioned. The engagement to be taken by the clergy was, "I promise fidelity to the Government of the French Republic, as established by the constitution." Some of the Council of State objected to this measure, and added, that it might be followed by steps dangerous to the Government. Bonaparte, however, treated their ideas with a degree of seriousness and irony.

The convention between the Pope and Bonaparte was not carried into effect till April 1802. It was thought political to defer the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion for some time.

The French Princes and other emigrants, looked on the peace with England as the last blow to their hopes. When they saw Bonaparte's power acknowledged, they saw also the ruin of the royal cause, and the subversion of the balance of power.

Prussia, having long resisted the solicitations of the Elector of Hanover, the King of Great Britain, to evacuate that territory, at length did so in November.

Passwan Oglou, not only held out in Turkey, but gained many advantages over the troops of the Grand Seignior. The janizaries of Belgrade murdered the Bashaw, and governed that important city by their own authority.

Bonaparte was enjoying the height of his splendour; he was constantly employed in measures that might consolidate his power; his general plan was to unite rigour with lenity, to have one arm bare for execution, the other ready to bestow favour.

His power was not exercised by caprice, nor unemployed for the public advantage. In his preferments he was guided by a regard to merit, and the opinion of the nation. He employed himself very seriously in improving the civil law of France. He formed a plan for the education of youth, and laid his attention towards the re-establishment of a regular system of finance, a navy, commerce, agriculture, and manufactures. He paid great attention to the arts, to the improvement and restoration of canals, bridges, and highways, and to the general prosperity of the empire.

He strove to check whatever was loose in morals; he honoured marriage and a domestic life; he set his face against all loose dramatic pieces, and encouraged those of a moral dignified cast.

In himself he gave the French an example of a simple, laborious life; he lived happily with his own family, loved his relations, and was beloved by them; he did not forget his friends; he heard all opinions with attention,

but saw every thing with his own eyes, and entirely followed his own judgment.

A view of the French Republic, as it was called, signed by the Consul, was presented to the Legislative Body in November 1801, by one of the counsellors of state. This view embraces every point which can be well supposed ; it paints France and her affairs in the most favourable point of view, and takes much merit to itself for the success of the French navy in the Mediterranean. The soldiers of the army of the East, it says, have yielded in Egypt, but more to circumstances than to the force of Turkey or England. History will relate what the French have done to introduce there the civilization and improvements of Europe ; and, perhaps, deplore its loss as a new calamity to mankind. Twenty-three thousand out of twenty-eight return to France from Egypt, so that four campaigns, battles, and diseases, have not taken off one fifth of the Army of the East. The reduction of the army has taken place ; those who first took arms are first discharged. The war, he says, certainly will leave some burdens, but the revenues will increase of themselves with the peace. Some troubles have occurred in Guadeloupe ; but a new government has been organized. Some irregular acts have also occurred in St. Domingo ; but a fleet and army, which are preparing to set out from the ports of Europe, will soon dissipate these clouds. In those two mentioned colonies there are no slaves ; but Martinique has kept up slavery, and it still shall be kept up. The Batavian people have adopted a new constitution, and the French force in that country has been reduced to 10,000 men. Helvetia has been much distracted by parties—she is in the midst of storms with no pilot. It touches upon every country in Europe which had felt the

Canova sent for to take Bonaparte's Bust.

French ascendancy, and states the measures taking to secure their obedience to France. It mentions the northern confederacy, and the occupation of Hanover by Prussia, and the sudden death of Paul. All difficulties with the United States of America have been removed, and peace with England is concluded. The English have throughout shewn a frank desire to put an end to the miseries of war, they have embraced peace with enthusiasm. The Government wishes to perpetuate a peace which will give happiness to humanity.

From this view it would seem, that Bonaparte was born for the universal good of mankind; he encouraged virtue, science, and all good arts. He was exemplary in his own conduct, and for what concerned France with regard to foreign countries, he professed an emulation of great actions, and was resolved to perpetuate a peace which would constitute the happiness of humanity.

The military government in France was intended by Bonaparte in the earliest part of his career. When he expelled the Directory from the palace of the Luxembourg, he was asked where he would reside? after a short pause, he replied, "At the Thuilleries, it is a good military post."

The people flocked in crowds to the parade held every decade, where he always was. His name is seldom mentioned in private, and there seems little inclination to praise or blame him.

Canova, who, as a statuary, perhaps, but little inferior to the ancients, was sent for by Bonaparte to take his bust. The artist was no politician, and paid little attention to the fate of empires; but he looked on it as a crime past all forgiveness, to rob Rome of the statues so lately her boast. He openly admitted his dislike of the

Bonaparte's Conduct to Volney.

First Consul, refused all offers to stay at Paris, and while modelling Bonaparte, plainly told him, he was surprised to find himself in that place, and so employed.

Volney was a friend of Bonaparte ; he was one day endeavouring to convince him of the mischief he would do by conferring power on the priesthood, and burthening the people with a general and unjust tax. Bonaparte replied, " why mention the people ? I only act in this as they desire ; a large majority wish for the re-establishment of the church."

Volney answered, " Were you to act to the will of the majority, you must cede your power ; they would vote for the return of the Bourbons."

Report says, that the Consul's rage was ungovernable ; that he struck Volney, and ordered him from his presence ; and that he has never entered the Thuilleries since.

He seldom argues, and when he does, he considers it insolent in any one to be of a different opinion.

Of his religious opinions no man can form a decisive judgment ; at one time he might be taken for an infidel, at another a deist, and the next perhaps a christian. He appears to be a fatalist more than a necessitarian, for he affects to believe in his favourable destiny. His stature is diminutive, his complexion sallow, and his countenance bears the marks of the labours of his mind ; it is careworn, but capable of great variety. From his complexion choler might be expected, but not of that impetuous and sudden kind to which he is so subject.

The *Concordat* was exhibited on Easter Sunday 1802. Bonaparte entered the church of Notre Dame, descended the aisle, surrounded by attendants, with his hat off ; there was colour in his face ; a little smile rendered his

General Richepanse's Interview with the Chief Consul.

mouth pleasant ; his look was gracious. When it was over he asked one of the generals who attended him his opinion of the ceremony, to which he sarcastically replied, "It was a true farce." He did not appear to notice this sneer ; and the same general, in a few days after, made some remarks on the same subject. Bonaparte gave him one of his well-known looks of terror, and the general fell into disgrace.

None but the military can take any liberty with him ; they say he asked Moreau to be present at Notre Dame, at the consecration of the colours, and to dine with him. "General," he replied, "I will dine with you, but I will not go to Notre Dame, nor will I consecrate colours."

It was hinted to him, that Moreau was concerned in the plot to assassinate him ; it is said, he sent for him, and said, "I have heard that you have joined assassins ; I give no credit to such tales ; but the military are very warm, and you will oblige me by going to your country house for two or three days."

Moreau willingly complied with his request, but returned on the third day, that no misconception might be put on his conduct.

General Richepanse, when he returned to Paris, went to the levee of Bonaparte. The Chief Consul merely cast a side glance at him, and continued his conversation with another general. Richepanse made a second attempt, but met with the same attention. Then, highly offended, in a louder tone he said, "Citizen General, when you are at leisure——" Bonaparte, turning hastily round, as if to some troublesome person, asked, "What do you want, sir ? Who are you ? Your name ?" Richepanse directly put his hand on his sword, and said, "My name,

Bonaparte's Aversion to the Bourbons.

Citizen Consul, is Richepanse, which, if you forget it, has the honour to be known to all Europe." Bonaparte recollected himself, and with that affability which he can so readily assume, apologized for his absence of mind, treated Richepanse with great distinction, and appointed him to the command of Guadaloupe.

To any thing that reminds him of the Bourbons he has the greatest antipathy. A man had been proposed to him as head huntsman, and was much praised. Bonaparte asked him on what grounds he claimed as a huntsman of such skill. The man answered, very imprudently, that he had served his royal master, Louis XVIth, many years in that capacity. Bonaparte made no reply, but turned his back.

These anecdotes depict the man, unfold his character, and shew his qualities.

CHAPTER XCI.

THE Marquis Cornwallis, who was appointed Ambassador to the French Republic to settle the peace, left London with a splendid retinue. Amiens was fixed on, as being nearly the same distance from Paris and London, as the place for the Congress which was to settle all matters between Great Britain and France, and her allies. Lord Cornwallis had sent his horses and equipage over to Calais

Lord Cornwallis arrives in France.

previously. These were very far superior to any thing that had been seen in France since the revolution. He was so anxious to begin his mission, that he resolved to embark, though the weather was very tempestuous, and on the 3d of November got under weigh for Calais. One of the vessels with baggage was stranded and lost near Boulogne, and the people of Calais most anxiously watched the vessel in which his Lordship was embarked; great fears were expressed on account of its safety; but the storm subsided towards night, and he landed under a salute of artillery from all the forts. He was visited next morning by all the authorities of that district, and set out for Paris, and arrived there on the evening of the 7th. He was introduced to Bonaparte, who conversed with him for a long time. On the day fixed for public rejoicings in Paris on account of the peace, his presence added to the general joy; his carriage was the only one allowed to pass through the crowded streets; and in this the Parisian mob cheerfully acquiesced. In the evening he was invited to the Thuilleries to see the illuminations. His Lordship gave and received some dinners, at which were present many of the first characters in France. He did not dine with the First Consul, who, with respect to ambassadors, kept up the etiquette of crowned heads, and preserved great state and ceremony.

His reception, however, at the French Court, was more distinguished than had been paid to any former ambassador. He had a guard of honour to wait on him, and orders were given, that every guard should turn out to him, and carry arms. This mark of distinction was a very high compliment, and never paid before to any foreign minister. He was, however, soon tired of Paris, and set out for Amiens, where he arrived on the 1st of

Lord Cornwallis goes to Amiens.

December. Neither the Spanish nor Danish ministers were yet arrived, and Joseph Bonaparte, the French minister, came down in compliment to Lord Cornwallis. Soon after his arrival the directors of the theatre waited on him, to know when he would wish the play to begin. He replied he seldom went to plays, and begged they would fix it at the hour most convenient to the people of Amiens: but, however, the play began at seven o'clock instead of six, which was the usual time of commencing. The negociation was suspended for some time; the Dutch minister did not arrive till the 7th, and Spain was very slow in appointing theirs. They at length named the Chevalier d'Azara, but he was detained at Genoa for some time by illness. Lord Cornwallis had little to do for some time but pay and receive complimentary visits. Spain, who was the only loser of territory, by the cession of Trinidad, was in no hurry to send her minister.

Two great objects then occupied the mind of Bonaparte. The first was the recovery of St. Domingo and Guadaloupe from the army of Negroes, who threatened to wrest them from their parent state. The second was to place the Cisalpine Republic in the power of the First Consul. In pursuance of the first plan an army of 25,000 men, and twenty-five sail of the line, sailed on the 14th of December. The British Government was jealous of such a force; but France having assured them they were only going to restore the colonies to the regular governments, they allowed them to sail without waiting for the definitive treaty. A fleet was, however, collected at Bantry Bay, under Admiral Mitchell, to watch their motions in the West Indies. The crews were dissatisfied at their being sent there, and mutiny spread through the fleet, but chiefly in the *Temeraire* and *Formidable*; the

Bonaparte arrives at Lyons.

gallant conduct of the officers, however, soon subdued it, and fourteen of the ringleaders were tried and executed. A squadron of seven sail of the line sailed.

It was considered, that the year 1802 commenced in a most favourable manner; the end of our struggle with France, the increased glory of our army and navy, our maritime laws established, the quiet state of Ireland, and the repeal of the income tax, a hateful impost to the people; all these were hailed with joy by the British nation; yet, about the middle of January, impatience was expressed at the delay of the treaty.

Lord Cornwallis was in an awkward situation at Amiens, and it was supposed that both he and his country were trifled with. Bonaparte, who considered the Congress at Amiens, or the definitive treaty, as secondary objects, prepared to set out for Lyons, to confer with the Cisalpine deputies, but, in fact, for being invested with the sovereignty of that country, under the title of President. Talleyrand went before him, and employed himself before the Consul's arrival, in conciliating and giving grand entertainments to the Cisalpine Deputies.

Bonaparte reached Lyons in the night of the 11th of January; he was met by a brilliant troop of 150 volunteers, natives of Lyons, young men of fortune, and fine appearance; he entered the city about ten, with the most universal acclamations of joy.

He employed his time during the first part of his stay at Lyons, in visiting the different manufactories and establishments, and conferring privately with the principal Cisalpine Deputies. A splendid chair was prepared for him in the hall where they met, adorned with military trophies, and the room was decorated with drawings of

Bonaparte meets the Cisalpine Deputies.

his victories, and mottos applicable to himself and fortune.

A committee of thirty was appointed to prepare a report of the actual state of the Cisalpine nation. This committee presented a report, which was very long, and ended with pressing arguments for the First Consul to take on himself the governing the Cisalpine nation. The report was unanimously agreed to by the Deputies; and they persuaded Bonaparte to accept what was the object of his ambition, and, in fact, the motive of his journey to Lyons.

The Consul, with a vast train of attendants, took his seat at the *Consulta*, and made a long speech to them in Italian. He tells them that their country has experienced many vicissitudes, but that the protection of France has prevailed, and they have been recognized at Luneville; that they are going to be united under a constitution more adapted to their manners; he has assembled them at Lyons, as the principal inhabitants of the Cisalpine, and the choices he has made to fill the first offices in the country are free from all party; all that relates to them shall be dear to his heart; they must have general laws, and the people must assume national habits; they have no army, but they have what can produce it, a numerous population and fertile countries. This speech of the First Consul was interrupted frequently by loud applause, and the constitution was read. The assembly seemed to wish to change the name of *Cisalpine* to that of the *Italian* Republic. To this the First Consul seemed to yield. The Roman Catholic was the religion of the state. Three electoral colleges were constituted for that purpose, to choose the different members of government;

Great Uneasiness at the Delay of the Treaty.

these three colleges to be formed of proprietors of landed property, of the learned, and of tradesmen; the seat of Government to be at Milan. Bonaparte was chosen President. He immediately invited the Vice-president, Melzi, to sit by his side, and embraced him, and all appeared grateful for this mark of affection. The sitting was then broke up, and the First Consul retired amidst the loudest acclamations. He returned to Paris on the 30th. Azara, the Spanish minister, was at Amiens on the 29th.

The greatest uneasiness prevailed throughout the British empire at the delays which arose on the subject of the treaty. In the mean time a treaty was published, concluded at Madrid in March, by which Spain ceded Louisiana to France, and the Duchy of Parma, and the island of Elba, were to belong to that nation at the death of the reigning Duke, which was soon expected.

The immense acquisitions of power which France made when peace was on the eve of being concluded, and the delays at Amiens, excited the greatest indignation through the British Empire. The great increase which the empire of Bonaparte had received by the accession of such a territory as the Cisalpine, was directly against one of the articles of the Preliminary Treaty.

Malta seemed an object of great consequence to both parties, it was agreed that it should remain neutral, and its neutrality to be secured by every precaution. The Island was to be restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, yet there was to be no English or French *Langue*; they were to be suppressed, and a Maltese *Langue* to be created, whose knights were to be chosen from the island. No French or British troops were to be admitted into the

The Consul threatens Switzerland.

garrisons. It was to be garrisoned by Neapolitans, till it had a sufficient force of its own.

Scarce had the Preliminary Articles been received at Paris, before some more treaties of peace were announced by an illumination and discharges of artillery; one with the Ottoman Porte, and another with Portugal. The Porte had engaged, that France, throughout the whole Turkish Empire, should be on the most favoured footing. Portugal was to cede all Guiana to the River Amazons; this would have opened a way for France into the heart of South America.

Bonaparte's ambition was not satisfied with his Italian honours; he assumed the most absolute power in France, which, with Italy, he seemed to look on as his property. His return from Lyons was signified by discharges of artillery, which none of the ancient monarchs of France ever made use of. He affected much more state and ceremony; and his generals, formerly his companions, were kept at a very respectful distance.

The Consul sent threatening letters to the Canton of Berne, in which the instant interference of France was held out, under the idea of the troubles prevailing among the Swiss; but more positive proceedings on the part of France occurred in the Valais.

General Thurreau, famous for his atrocities in La Vendee, arrived in the Valais early in February; he displaced all the constituted authorities of that little state, and possessed himself of all the public offices and situations, and stated that France would incorporate the republic with her dominions. Bonaparte was not less active with regard to internal arrangements; various establishments were formed in Paris; while arranging the plunder of

The Treaty of Peace signed at Amiens.

Italy in the utmost splendor, promised to secure the resort of strangers to Paris, who once flocked to Rome.

Many see nothing good in Bonaparte; others behold in him nothing but what is excellent; yet it must be allowed he has done more for France than most of her monarchs did. Policy has directed his regulations at home; and he has circulated a spirit of enterprise that may do her much service; he has claims upon her gratitude, and deserves to reign. If we refer back, we shall find that a Bonaparte would keep his seat, when many an entailed crown would be hurled from the heads they covered.

Some news arrived in March from St. Domingo, which, on the whole, was looked on as favourable to the mother country.

Lord Cornwallis was in a very disagreeable situation at Amiens; the treaty had been now lingering upwards of three months, in which time Bonaparte had realized all his projects. Some slight signs of British spirit, however, appeared, the disarming system was suspended; a strong fleet was sent to the West Indies to watch the Brest fleet; a squadron likewise sailed for the Mediterranean, and measures of a warlike kind were adopted.

To whatever cause it is owing, Bonaparte wished to bring the negociation at Amiens to a conclusion. Two points only seemed to take up the attention of the French Government, the treaty of peace with Great Britain and the German indemnities. The treaty was at last signed on the 27th of March.

The people of Amiens were invited to witness the ceremony of the signatures taking place. The intelligence was announced at Paris next day by Talleyrand, and proclaimed with the firing of cannon and every demonstration

Articles of the Treaty of Amiens.

of joy. Mr. Moore, assistant secretary to the mission, arrived in London on the 29th of March, with the news of the treaty being signed at Amiens by the different plenipotentiaries. Thus, after an interval of five months, the wish of the people was accomplished.

This treaty first states, that there shall be peace and good understanding between the King of Spain, the Batavian Republic, on the one part, and the King of Great Britain on the other part. All prisoners to be restored within six weeks, on paying whatever debts they may have contracted; each party to pay whatever advances have been made by others for the support of prisoners; a commission to be appointed to settle what may be due. The King of England restores all that has been conquered from the Republic of France and her allies, except Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon. The King of Spain gives up the island of Trinidad to England; the Dutch all that belonged to them in Ceylon previous to the war; the Cape of Good Hope to be restored to them; the ships of the different powers to be allowed to enter the said ports, and purchase whatever they may stand in need of, without paying any additional duties; the territories of the Sublime Porte to be maintained in their integrity; the republic of the Seven Islands recognized; the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, to be restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the Knights to be invited to return, and proceed to elect a Grand Master; no individual of France or England to be admitted into the order; the English to evacuate Malta within three months, or, if possible, sooner; one half of the garrison to be native Maltese, with Maltese officers; Sicily to be invited to furnish 2000 men to garrison the different fortresses of the island.

Great Britain at peace with Europe.

The French to evacuate Naples and the Roman states, and the English Porto Ferrajo, and all they hold in the Mediterranean or Adriatic; all fortifications to be restored in their present state; three years to be allowed to the inhabitants of any nation to dispose of their properties; no person to be disturbed for his political opinion; all sequestrations, of whatever nature they may be, to be taken off after the signing of the treaty. The fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland are to be as they were before the war. The ambassadors, ministers, and other agents, shall enjoy the same rank and privileges as were enjoyed by the same classes before the war. An equivalent to be procured to the House of Nassau for its losses. This treaty is declared common to the Sublime Ottoman Porte, the ally of his Britannic Majesty; all persons guilty of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, to be delivered up to justice; but this not to refer previous to the treaty. This treaty to be ratified as soon as possible, and exchanged in due form at Paris. There was a separate article between France and Holland, stating, that the French were to make good the indemnification agreed to be furnished to the House of Nassau.

Shortly after the news of the conclusion of the treaty arrived in England, a letter from Lord St. Helens, at Petersburg, announced the agreement of the Courts of Sweden and Denmark to the convention signed with Russia, on the rights of neutral powers; and that the Court of Russia had absolutely done away and abandoned the system of armed neutrality. Sweden entered into an act of accession, acceding with the Court of Petersburg.

By this declaration, and the Treaty of Amiens, Great Britain was in peace with all the powers of Europe; a continuance of amity with France, and the repose of the

Peace proclaimed in London with great Joy.

continent was confidently predicted even by the least sanguine. Happy would it have been if it were so.

The treaty of peace did not satisfy the people of this country, they were very much discontented with it, and it went under a severe examination in the House of Commons. Mr. Windham spoke for three hours in a most able manner against it, and though, perhaps, he took too sombre a view of it, yet in many cases he was justified. The debate was warm, and its magnitude such, that it was adjourned to the next day, when Mr. Windham had a majority against his motion of 256 to 20. From this it will appear that the peace was regretted by all who reflected on its conditions; it was thought we had compromised our honour, and had concluded an insecure peace.

To the lower class of people the pacific arrangements was a season of festivity and riot, and they were contented. Peace was proclaimed in London and Westminster, on the 29th of April, and the greatest joy was expressed by the people; splendid illuminations took place, and the house of Mr. Otto was magnificent.

The arrival of the French ambassador was now anxiously looked for by the public, and Lord Whitworth was appointed to that important situation at the Consul's court, on the part of England. The First Consul chose General Andreossy, who had served under him in Egypt; yet, although the appointments were made early, General Andreossy did not arrive in England, nor had Lord Whitworth set sail for France till the November following.

During this interval of peace (if that can be called so, which bore the appearance of distrust and war) two or three events occurred which we will notice.

Bonaparte settles the Concordat with the Pope.

The first was a convention between the French and Batavian ambassadors at Amiens, that the indemnities to be given to the family of Orange were not to be all at the charge of Holland. Was this understood in such a manner between the British and French ambassadors, there was no necessity for this separate convention; if not, then France, on the day of signing the treaty, violated the spirit of the negociation.

The treaty of peace between France and Tunis next followed, or, rather, the submission of the Dey to the threats of Bonaparte.

Switzerland excepted, there was nothing hardly but quietness in Europe. The people there were impatient for the execution of the treaty of Luneville, which gave them a right to choose a government most agreeable to the people. There were some disturbances in the little Republic of the Seven Isles, owing to an attempt to introduce some of the ancient Venetian nobility into this new republic; this the people resisted; but the English Commodore, cruising off that station, interfered and prevented extremities being carried into effect.

Bonaparte had now leisure to pursue those schemes which constantly dawned upon his mind, and extended his hopes. He felt it necessary to his power, to sooth the passions of the parties in France. As yet the people of that country submitted to every party as it prevailed; but it was well known that the most of them, particularly the peasantry, wished to see their ancient religion restored in its former splendor. He was aware of this, and entered into a convention with the Pope, by which the system of the Gallican church was settled. This convention, or, as it was called, *Concordat*, was not made public till a fortnight after the treaty of Amiens was signed.

Articles of the Concordat.

Three plenipotentiaries were named on each side to arrange the articles; the Republic acknowledged that the Roman Catholic is the religion of most of the French citizens, and the Pope acknowledged that this religion will derive great benefit from its being established in France, and from being professed by the Consuls. The Catholic religion to be exercised freely in France; a new division of French dioceses to be made; the Chief Consul to nominate, and his Holiness to confer canonical institution according to the forms established previous to the revolution; all bishoprics to be named by the Chief Consul; the Bishops to take an oath of fidelity to the Republic; the Bishops to divide the parishes in their dioceses, but to be ratified by Government; the Consuls and the Republic to be prayed for at the end of divine service in all churches in France; all churches, not alienated, to be at the disposal of the Bishops; Bishops and parish priests to have a suitable salary; French Catholics, so inclined, to be enabled to dispose of their property for the support of religion.

Many regulations were entered into on behalf of the Gallican church, as connected with the policy of the state, by which the Government kept the upper hand of whatever the Pope might be inclined to do, and every thing was to be under the controul of the legislative power.

None but native Frenchmen were to be allowed to officiate as ministers of religion, and to have no connection with foreign powers; a seminary to be at Geneva for the instruction of ministers of the reformed churches; the professors in all seminaries to be named by the Chief Consul; the other regulations were merely local and particular as to the duties of the different members.

Fête at the Proclamation of the Catholic Religion.

The new religious code was made known to the French people by a proclamation of the First Consul of April 17, and the event was to be solemnly celebrated at the church of Notre Dame, the next day being Sunday.

This fête which proclaimed the Catholic Religion was the most dazzling that had taken place since the revolution; the procession of the Government to the cathedral had every luxury and pomp. At eleven o'clock the constituted authorities were drawn up in the cathedral, when the procession moved from the Thuilleries; the carriage of the First Consul was drawn by eight horses, each led by a servant in superb livery; the Mamelukes also attended in their richest uniforms; the family of Bonaparte was in the church, seated above all the authorities; the ceremony went on with great pomp; the anthems and music were by the first composers in France, and their execution was not inferior; all was profusely lavished on this splendid solemnity; it pleased the French, and added to the popularity of Bonaparte. The republican party, however, were much displeased; and many of the military, with the greatest reluctance obeyed the orders to salute the cross, carried before the procession.

CHAPTER XCII.

THE Concordat is certainly very great in its importance; nothing so good for christianity has taken place, since the Papacy, and Princes governed by it, had usurped the rights of conscience. It has released the Catholic

The Concordat of general Good.

Clergy from all obedience to the Pope, and placed the obligation in the Prince and the people. We have as yet only seen the head of the French Government as a warrior, and a most consummate General, we now see him much more illustrious, delivering the continent from an ecclesiastical yoke, which could not be borne; if he is not religious, we must admit him the friend of peace. All civil power, by the fifth article, is taken from the ecclesiastic, and placed in the hands of the Prince and the laws. The Archbishops and Bishops swear, on the Holy Gospel, obedience and fidelity to the Government. Though it does not change a single article in the faith professed by the church of Rome, yet the enemies of Bonaparte contend, that it has destroyed the Catholic Religion. To those English subjects who have a mean opinion of the Concordat, we say they undervalue the dignity of their own sovereign; for this concession was obtained from the Pope; but the Elector of Hanover, with every other Protestant Prince, was not acknowledged by the Pope. In fact, in the Pontifical Calendar, till very lately printed at Rome, neither Hanover nor the kingdom of Prussia is mentioned. In the one printed no longer ago than 1783, the great Frederick is described as Charles Frederic, Marchese, a title at Rome so trifling as to be ridiculous. Till Bonaparte, no one had power to get the Popes to give up their assumed rights over states. Even Pius VI. when he went into Germany in 1782, could not be prevailed on to grant the King of Prussia a recognition of the crown. He politely promised, that when he returned to Rome he would assemble the Cardinals, without whom he could not deliberate. This was never done, nor did he ever mean to do so.

We have already noticed the articles relative to the pro-

The Magistrates of Paris propose a triumphal Portico.

testants in France. The present was the first period in which Bonaparte found himself in profound peace, and as he could not now amuse the public by his victories, it required not a little cleverness to manage such a nation as the French.

His plan is allowed to have been to unite vigour with lenity, to gratify the French people, and overawe pretensions by the command of an immense military : but we must observe his power was not used with caprice, nor unemployed in the public good. Merit was generally the first qualification he considered ; he adopted various useful regulations in commerce, agriculture, and manufactures ; new canals, roads, and bridges made their appearance, and considerable sums were issued for improving the capital. At the same time he increased his own and the nation's splendor ; all his actions tended to check every sort of looseness in matters of amusement ; he kept a strict eye on the theatres, and only encouraged pieces of a moral or dignified cast ; his own life shewed an example of the simple and laborious ; he lived comfortably with his family, and they generally loved him.

When the magistrates of Paris resolved to erect a triumphal portico to his honour, at an expense of 600,000 livres, it was decreed, " that the First Consul shall be requested to accept the present deliberation as a homage of gratitude, and a pledge of the respectful attachment of the city of Paris." To this he answered, " That he had seen with gratitude the sentiments which animate the magistrates of Paris, he accepts the offer they have made him, but begs the place may be fixed, and leave to future ages to construct the monument, if they ratify the good opinion the present magistrates entertain of him."

Although the French Government had been stamped

The British finally evacuate St. Domingo.

with the hateful names of despotism and tyranny, the forms of liberty still existed in France; at stated times the executive government laid before the legislative an Exposé, or state of the nation, like the speeches of the King of England, on the opening of parliament. In the first, Bonaparte observed, "that the English people embraced peace with enthusiasm; the hatred of rivalry is extinguished; the emulation of great and useful enterprises alone remains." He observed, "that liberty of conscience was proclaimed, and every thing has been done to secure to all the liberty which belongs to them."

At St. Domingo he also observes, "some irregular acts had given alarm for its allegiance; but an army and a fleet, preparing to set out, would soon dispel these clouds, and it would return under the laws of the Republic."

The idea of peace with England made him turn his thoughts to the recovery of that valuable colony. The celebrated General Toussaint Louverture, was one of the last who had risen into consequence in that devoted isle, after a struggle of nearly four years, between the blacks and whites; and the English having unfortunately taken part with the French inhabitants, who wished to come under the British Government, suffered most dreadfully, more by sickness than the sword; and at last were forced to evacuate the island, when not more than 1100 were left out of all their number. The final retreat of the British from the island was in October 1798, but the French could never recover their authority, which induced Bonaparte to send a fleet and powerful army for that purpose; this he announced in a letter to General Toussaint Louverture.

He says, that peace with England and the powers of Europe, enables the Government to direct its attention

Bonaparte sends out a large Force under General Le Clerc.

to St. Domingo; he sends his brother-in-law, Le Clerc, as Captain General of the colony, with a respectable force, and hopes he will prove his sincerity, which he has expressed in his different letters; he praises what he has done, and says, that though the constitution he has formed contains many good things, it has others contrary to the dignity of the French people, of which St. Domingo forms but a part; he sends back his children, who know the sentiments by which he is animated; he desires him to assist with his talents and influence the Captain General; he ought not to be doubtful with respect to the fortune and honours that await him; great as his services have been, and great as they may yet be, he desires him to tell the people of St. Domingo, that they cannot enjoy liberty but with the title of French citizens; that he is responsible for their conduct; he desires him to rely on his esteem, and to conduct himself as one of the chief citizens of a great nation ought to do.

Toussaint's merits were no doubt over-rated. He was born in Africa, and very early in life sold as a slave; it is said he could neither read nor write. That he had some good natural parts, however, cannot be doubted, from his influence over the people of colour when the troubles first broke out; his humanity perhaps recommended him to some of the white inhabitants, through whose secret influence he was raised to the chief command; he composed the jarring factions, and lessened the ferocity of his countrymen; he preached a sermon once in one of the churches, and there is reason to believe he was actuated by a religious disposition. There were many reports against him; it was said, he wished to make St. Domingo independent, and fix the sovereignty on himself and family.

A fleet of twenty-six ships of war and transports, with

The French Army land at Cape François.

an army of 25,000 men, put to sea in December ; a fleet also sailed from the Texel, and the whole force, including single ships, which continued to sail till March, probably was near 40,000 men.

They reached Cape François all well, and General Rochambeau's division landed in Mancenille Bay. A mulatto, who acted as captain of the port, went on board the Admiral's ship, to say he was ordered by General Christophe to tell him, that the whites would be all massacred, and the town set fire to, if the French refused to wait a messenger from Toussaint.

Le Clerc replied, he wished to inform that General of the friendly intentions of his Government ; he sent an officer with his letter, and kept the captain as a hostage. The fleet then stood out to sea. The messenger returned with the Negro General's answer ; he refused to receive the army, and threatened to destroy the city of Cape François. A deputation from the unfortunate inhabitants went on board to entreat the Captain General to desist, as the city would be otherwise destroyed. No satisfactory answer was given to them, as the General could not act contrary to his orders. He only waited for news of Rochambeau's landing, and when he had this, he took advantage of the first breeze to stand into the harbour. The city was on fire ; the ships anchored in safety, and the crews landed just in time to save the lower parts of the city ; the blacks retreated in good order, with little loss ; General Le Clerc issued a proclamation, stating that he came to bring peace and happiness ; he orders Generals Toussaint and Christophe to be put out of the protection of the law, and to be looked on as rebels to the French Republic ; all to be treated as rebels who obey any orders but those of his generals ; the soldiers of the demi-

Toussaint's Army defeated.

brigades, who shall abandon the army of Toussaint, to be received into the French army.

Hostilities commenced in February ; several French divisions advanced, contending with great disadvantages from the ground, and from the attacks of the Negroes concealed among the trees bordering on the vallies. They, however, took possession of the positions they were ordered to occupy. General Christophe defended one of the posts with 2400 men. As the blacks published none of their proceedings, we have no other accounts of the campaign in St. Domingo than those of General Le Clerc.

He states Dessalines to be the most dexterous, as well as most bloody of the rebels ; he set fire to Leogane in spite of the efforts of the French to prevent him ; his cruelties, under the orders of Toussaint, spread terror through the island ; “ never,” adds the General, “ at Constantinople, were heads cut off, or cruelties inflicted with less remorse than by Toussaint and his adherents.”

General Laplume surrendered to the French, and Dessalines was forced to retire to the woods ; Christophe also took refuge in the mountains.

Toussaint was beaten in an action, and leaving 800 men dead on the field, retreated in great confusion. After this the inhabitants looked on him as ruined ; the soldiers deserted, and all looked on the French as masters of the colony. The Captain General had gone in pursuit of Toussaint.

In a subsequent letter to the Minister of Marine, he states that he is in pursuit of Toussaint, who he hopes cannot long escape him ; 300 of his horse-guards had deserted him ; Dessalines has massacred some whites ; all the coasts and ports are in their possession ; the fatigues

Toussaint and Dessalines surrender to the French.

of the troops have been immense ; their indignation against this ferocious banditti is at its height.

During this dreadful scene of war, the Negroes spared no one who fell into their hands ; the plantations for miles round the Cape were scenes of devastation.

The details of General Le Clerc gave a shocking picture of the nature of the contest, which, dreadful to relate, seemed to be an indiscriminate massacre on both sides. Reinforcements arrived, which Admiral Villaret announced to the island, vainly thinking they would conquer it. The rebels were not able to keep the field, but the French, weakened by the climate and the sword, could not follow up their advantages, or retain what they had acquired. In another despatch General Le Clerc announces the surrender of Christophe, which, he says, completed the consternation of Toussaint, who took pains to inform him with what pain he saw hostilities continued without any hopes of being ended ; that he at length also came to see him, and took an oath of fidelity to France ; this he accepted, and thus Toussaint retired to a plantation, which he was not to leave without the General's permission ; Dessalines he also placed at another.

Toussaint and Dessalines being thus in his power, General Le Clerc began to talk of attending to the affairs of the colony : but as yet there was no opportunity. When Toussaint submitted, Christophe and all the chiefs were dispirited, and their troops dispersed. In order, as it would seem, to extinguish every ray of hope, Toussaint and all his family were arrested, put on board a frigate, and sent off to France. Such an unexpected affair required some apology to his country and to Europe, which he endeavours to do in a despatch to the Minister of Marine, wherein he says, that, since his par-

Death of General Le Clerc.

don, Toussaint has never ceased to conspire in secret; that he strove to raise an insurrection among the cultivators; that he has intercepted the letters written to his agent at the Cape, which proved that he wished to resume his former influence in the colony; that he sends him to France, and the Government will see what they ought to do; his departure has caused a general joy at the Cape.

If this joy ever existed it was soon changed; the French could never eradicate the impression that the arrest of Toussaint produced; Christophe and Dessalines, fearful of the like treatment, escaped by flight; the Negroes said they were deceived, and the whole island revolted. Le Clerc fell a victim to the climate, and the mortality among the French troops was beyond all example; six or seven generals of division, besides the commander in chief, were among the dead; and in September, only 27,500, of which were a corps of 4000 blacks, could be accounted for, and a fifth of that in the hospitals; even the *Moniteur* admitted, that a fifth of those embarked perished, without gaining the object they were sent out for.

Guadaloupe was also threatened with a serious insurrection, but the insurgents were reduced by the forces under General Richepanse with very little trouble. One thing only excited some strong emotions, viz. the law passed by the French legislative body on the 17th of May. By this, slavery was re-established in all the French colonies, as it was before 1789; and the slave trade, and importation of Negroes was ordered to be renewed. That this was agreeable to England is not to be doubted; but though the two Governments are suspected to have had

The King of Sardinia abdicates his Throne.

an understanding, there is nothing to fix public opinion on a matter so mysterious.

CHAPTER XCIII.

THIS was the year of treaties. While the power of the French Government was strengthened abroad by these, the creation of a legion of honour, and Bonaparte being elected President of the Italian Republic, added to his security at home : but that this should be called a republic, whose head was completely absolute, was some cause of surprise.

The King of Sardinia, weary of being a King with nothing but the name of a kingdom, abdicated his throne in favour of his brother, banished as it were to the little island of Sardinia. Piedmont and the duchy of Parma were added to France ; the once splendid city of Genoa, and its territory, now called the Ligurian Republic, became French in all but the name ; even here a naval force was not forgotten ; Genoa was to support two ships of 74 guns, two frigates, and four corvettes. Though Russia and Turkey had obtained treaties with the head of the French Government, he could not be drawn into such a measure with England.

He saw too far to bind himself so that the advantage would rest with England ; he had a right equal with Mr.

Bonaparte appointed First Consul for Life.

Pitt to consult the prosperity of his own country ; and as he saw the great accession of territory likely to come to France, while England might justly be supposed to have passed her zenith, that there could be no equality between the parties. A decree, forbidding the importation of British manufactures on the left bank of the Rhine, put an end to doubt. This, and many other measures he merely adopted to employ his own subjects ; and the English newspapers became so violent in their abuse, that their circulation was prohibited in France. After getting ten years added to his consulate, he went on to get himself named First Consul of France for life. The next step was the Senate's giving him power to name a successor. It is hardly to be doubted, that he entertained an idea at that time of becoming Emperor, and that these were preparatory steps to that purpose.

The extension of his power gave much alarm to the Emperor of Germany and the English ; indeed, to such an extent that the Imperial Cabinet, though obliged by the Treaty of Luneville to admit the German indemnities, was much averse to this ungrateful business. The Court of Vienna even spoke against the First Consul annexing Parma and Placenza to the French Republic. The House of Austria claimed from the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 the succession to these sovereignties in case of male issue failing. This was no time to revive old claims, and the Emperor's unwillingness to enter on the German indemnities, probably made Bonaparte hasten them.

Nothing was done till July, when the Emperor of Germany stated to the Diet of Ratisbon, that he had not ceased to be occupied with the means of ending the great business of the peace ; but that the principal parties had applied to Russia and France for the mediation of these

Acquisition of Territory to France.

powers. Russia had proposed to open negotiations in Paris, and that soon after a convention was concluded, without his participation, between France and Russia. The Emperor seeing all his authority on the point of being taken from him, submitted as well as he could; but by his perseverance obtained better terms than might be expected for his relative the Grand Duke of Tuscany. After arranging Germany according to their own plans, the First Consul and the Emperor of Russia agreed, that they could preserve an ecclesiastical Elector in the Empire; they proposed that the Arch-Chancellor should be transferred to Ratisbon. This new officer proved of great consequence afterwards to the interest of the French Republic.

After much jealousy and discontent a final *Conclusum* was voted, which was at last, though very reluctantly, acceded to by the Emperor. By this France, under the First Consul, acquired an extent of territory of 4500 square miles, 382,000 inhabitants, including Savoy, Nice, Avignon, the Austrian Netherlands, Geneva, and all the German possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, with Parma, Placentia, Piedmont, and the Island of Elba, making a population of almost a million more. In addition to this France had an absolute controul over all Italy, the United Provinces, and the Republic of Genoa, while Spain, Portugal, and Prussia were looked on as allies.

The annexation of Switzerland to the French Republic, has called for severe animadversion from the advocates of war; by their accounts Switzerland was a Paradise till the French converted it into a desert, and its happy people into mourners and slaves. The Swiss Government, they said, was as pure as the people were in-

Bonaparte writes relative to Switzerland.

nocent, and Swiss liberty could not be exceeded, except in England.

The formation of the Swiss Government in some cantons was wholly the effect of chance. In Basil, tickets are drawn out of a bag by the acting men, which enable them to fill up vacant posts ; not only Counsellors of State, but even Professors in the University are elected in the same manner. However, they may afterwards change places, and thus put all to rights.

From the situation of Switzerland she could not preserve her neutrality, in such a contest as the one between France and Austria ; in fact she forfeited it to the latter at the very commencement of the war, by one of her cantons firing a salute in honour of General Bonaparte, as he passed through on his return from Italy.

It could not be thought, that so consummate a general as Bonaparte would suffer Switzerland to be allied to his enemy at any time. This was thought a proper time to introduce the new constitution for the Swiss ; in Bonaparte's Exposé it was noticed, that Switzerland had often applied to him for his protection ; this year a letter was delivered from him to Citizen Reding, Chief Magistrate of Switzerland.

He tells him that two years back his countrymen consulted the First Consul on their affairs ; he spoke to them as the First Magistrate of the Gauls would have done, when Helvetia formed a part of Gaul. Had they followed his advice, they might have saved themselves two years of trouble ; he gives them a great deal of advice, and tells them the French will assist their country, and continue to shew every mark of kindness for them.

The constitution intended for them did not please them, though it was generally accepted in the greater

Insurrection of the People in Switzerland.

cantons. In the Pays de Vaud, however, disaffection was publicly shewn, though a French army soon stopped the mal-contents. In the cantons of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, the opposition was most violent; they declared themselves in a state of insurrection, along with Appenzel. Much of the summer passed in threats, between the French party and the refractory cantons; the latter, although their force was very inferior, appointed commanders, and prepared to take the field. Troops were sent against them; but they advanced, and carried the post of Rany, killing the captain and about 30 men. In the mean time other cantons joined the confederacy, and the French General was forced to send troops to take possession of Zurich, but the inhabitants would not admit them; they collected very tumultuously, and the municipality, dreading their situation, called to their assistance six people of the most influence in the town. They resolved to refuse admission to the troops, and wrote to the Helvetic Commandant, that the citizens would take care of their town, and did not wish to see any foreign troops among them; but that he might enter if his soldiers were lodged in barracks, guarded by the citizens. Two deputies immediately left Zurich to have an arrangement with the central government. The French General arrived before Zurich at night, and early in the morning summoned the town to open its gates; the Commandant said he would send to the municipality for orders, on which the General began to bombard the town; but his ammunition was soon expended, and he had only 2000 men. An armistice was proposed, but the citizens, enraged at the attack made on them, refused all accommodation; friends from the country were arriving every hour to the succour of Zurich.

M. de Watteville heads the Swiss Insurgents.

Great disturbances took place in different parts of Switzerland. The insurgents were commanded by M. de Watteville and others; after many conflicts the French party were obliged to capitulate; a suspension of arms was agreed on; de Watteville was named Commander in Chief, and waited on the French minister, who received him in the politest manner.

The insurgents were no sooner settled at Berne than they assumed the reins of government; they issued a proclamation by which every canton could regulate its local government, and they recommended a rational plan for Helvetic independence.

In the mean time, as neither party were conquered, both seemed as if they wished to gain time; a proclamation, however, appeared, which acted in a wonderful manner on the new Swiss Government, as it put an end to all their hopes.

This was from Bonaparte, addressed to the eighteen cantons of the Helvetic Republic.

He tells them that for two years they have afforded an afflicting spectacle; opposite factions have possessed the sovereign authority; the blood of the Swiss was shed by Swiss; they have been disputing for three years without coming to any understanding, and, if left to themselves, they will be killing each other for three years more; but he cannot be any longer silent, he will be the mediator of their differences. The Senate shall assemble at Berne five days after this proclamation is notified; all the authorities that have been formed shall cease meeting; armed assemblies shall disperse; no troops but those who have been six months on service shall remain; all individuals disbanded from the different armies, now in arms, to deposit their arms at places named; three deputies

The Swiss successful against the French.

from the Senate to be sent to Paris ; each canton also may send deputies ; his mediation, he trusts, will be the means of saving them. Sorry would he be to see that destiny had marked the fall of so ancient a republic, when so many new ones are rising in the world.

On the 3d of October hostilities were, however, renewed between the French and Swiss party along the line, and the Swiss were every where successful. The Helvetic Government was on the eve of going from Lausanne to Geneva, when Citizen Rapp, the Chief Consul's aide-du-camp arrived with the proclamation ; the Helvetic Government remained in Lausanne ; the Commander of the Swiss troops came to Lausanne, to propose an armistice between the Swiss and Helvetic troops, till some resolution should be entered into respecting Bonaparte's proclamation.

The Helvetic Diet announced, that the proclamation which Bonaparte did them the honour to send arrived at Schwitz on the 6th of October ; they sent a duplicate of a former letter, which will prove that the Swiss only want to give themselves a constitution founded on her position, which he ensured them by the Treaty of Luneville ; they only want a state of repose, in which, under a mild government, every one may enjoy his property and existence ; and they are sure they will arrive at that object, when their efforts are no longer fettered ; they trust he will not be inclined to act against them ; they only desire what he has made them hope, and only wish what they think they were authorised by him to do.

This was the expiring effort of Helvetic freedom ; all resistance to the power of France was unavailing, and perhaps the First Consul's terms were easier than they expected. The Senate re-occupied Berne ; the insur-

Troubles in Switzerland cease.

gents were disbanded; the patriots appealed to the powers of Europe in vain. The Court of Vienna were so much alarmed at Bonaparte that they held no correspondence with them. England sent an agent, but he arrived too late; the Diet of the insurgents dissolved itself, and the French had a strong force in and near Switzerland.

Several of the chiefs of the Swiss patriots were taken prisoners to Zurich, and sent to the castle of Challon on the Lake of Geneva. The Senate of Berne declared that Bonaparte would give them a constitution to secure tranquillity, which they would gratefully accept.

These were the last attempts of the Swiss to regain their lost influence. France will never drain the youth of Switzerland, as when they were sold to any petty despot, whose jars kept this infamous market open. No power at enmity with France can now injure Switzerland with impunity; she having nothing to fear from France, will share her good fortune, and of course her present situation is considerably improved.

The deputies from the cantons met at the office of the ministers for foreign affairs, and a letter was communicated to them from the First Consul, the substance of which was, that the present state of Helvetia required that all parties should sacrifice their selfish passions. The First Consul will restore tranquillity to Switzerland, and expects the deputies to aid him.

From the time taken up it would appear, that the new constitution did not pass without some objection from the deputies. At length the *Moniteur* was nearly filled with what the French called, "The act of mediation on the part of the First Consul of the French Republic, between the parties which divide Switzerland."

The present act, it was added, was the effect of long

The Diet vote an Address to Bonaparte.

conferences between men of sound understanding ; and when its dispositions shall be carried into execution, the French troops shall leave Switzerland.

Helvetia was acknowledged as an independent power, and the relations of amity promised to be kept, which for ages have united both nations.

The Eighteen Cantons are confederated, and guarantee their constitutions, their territory, and their independence, against foreign or domestic enemies. The diet to meet alternately at six places named. Citizen Louis d'Affry is Landamman for Switzerland for the current year. The diet is to consist of a deputy from each canton, with full powers ; the diet is to assemble every year on the 1st of June, and to sit for one month ; to conclude treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce with foreign powers.

The aristocratic cantons only, shewed any dislike to this new constitution. The Helvetic troops were passed into the service of France. The Landamman issued a proclamation, stating that the First Consul would take care of them, and make them forget what they had suffered. An address of thanks was voted to Bonaparte by the Diet, on the ground that he had restored to them their ancient constitution, which was acknowledged a benefit to Switzerland in particular, and to Europe in general.

The public Papers in England abuse Bonaparte.

CHAPTER XCIV.

PREVIOUS to entering on a renewal of the war, after a peace of one year and about sixteen days, we will recur to some circumstances which led to an open rupture. Complaints had arose about excluding our ships from French ports, and detaining others since the preliminaries were signed. The French, in detaining these vessels, acted from a law passed in the time of Robespierre; to this we objected, because it was the worst time of the French government. By the same rule the French might object to our navigation act, which gives us what is called the Sovereignty of the seas, because it was passed by Oliver Cromwell's parliament, the worst time of the English Government. As the Treaty of Amiens did not provide against this, the framers of it had themselves to thank for what the country was exposed to.

The public papers and public men condemned the peace and its makers, and constantly abused the First Consul in the vilest terms. The "Courier de Londres," conducted by French emigrants, gave the greatest offence. It was circulated in La Vendee and other French provinces, and its design was to stir up a rebellion in favour of the old monarchy. The British Government replied to the remonstrances, that they could not interfere with the liberty of the press in the article of newspapers; yet Bonaparte urged the same complaint against those printed by Frenchmen: "if their laws prevent us from

M. Peltier prosecuted in the Court of King's Bench.

proceeding against the English newspapers, they need not prevent our interfering with Frenchmen; there is an alien act, by which numbers have been sent away; send these men also away, and I will be satisfied." No notice was, however, taken of this, till M. Peltier published a paper, so bad, that in order to keep up appearances, he was prosecuted and cast in the Court of King's Bench, in February 1803: but he and others restrained their pens for a little time, and the rupture taking place between the two nations, they became as violent as ever. The King's message was given to Parliament on the 8th of March, and all proceedings against M. Peltier ceased.

The English had been preparing for a new war months before it broke out. In October and November 1802, orders were sent out to retain the Cape of Good Hope and the West India Islands not given up; and, in fact, it is doubtful whether the British ever meant to restore Malta, when they found the French would not be fettered by any new treaty. The well-known partiality of the Consul for Egypt, and Malta being looked on as a half-way house, made the British Government hazard every thing for that object.

The French had been very active in the Greek Islands and the Morea during the peace; in July Bonaparte told Lord Whitworth that peace or war depended on Malta; so that it may be looked on as doubtful whether Colonel Sebastiani's mission to Egypt, &c. was settled before the French were certain we meant to keep Malta; for it was not till December that Lord Hawkesbury heard from his agent at Corfu, that the *Cornelie* French frigate, with Colonel Sebastiani on board, had arrived there on a public mission from the French Republic, that he had called a meeting of the three orders, harangued them, and that

Colonel Sebastiani's Mission.

his speech was followed by cries of liberty and equality. Sebastiani is accused of using violent language, but his address to the delegate of Zanta, deserves to be remembered for its moderation.

He tells him that the First Consul, Bonaparte, has charged him to visit these islands, and assure them of his attention; political opinions divide the rising Republic, and without wise measures its tranquillity will be destroyed; the First Consul wishes to put a stop to these intestine divisions; France, Russia, and the Sublime Porte have guaranteed their Republic, and these powerful nations are busied in giving them a form of government suitable to their situation; he urges them to wait with patience the event of those important operations, and they will see the end of their ills, and the beginning of their prosperity; he says, after some other animadversions, that in consequence of the quarantine he will communicate this letter to the authorities, and the principal inhabitants.

The French Charge d'Affaires to the Seven Islands also wrote to the Vicar General of Corfu, that he has just received orders from his government to place the church of the Roman religion in the Seven Islands under its particular protection. This he hopes will be a motive for the people to address vows to Heaven for the Consuls, as is done in the French Republic.

Colonel Sebastiani's report is of too much importance to remain unnoticed; it describes scenes so very unlike European manners, that but for its being so well authenticated, its assertions might well be doubted.

He arrived at Tripoli on the 30th of September, and was presented with great pomp to the Pacha, who received him in the most distinguished manner. The Italian

Sebastiani visits Dgezzar Pacha.

Republic was formally acknowledged, but not without difficulty ; the Pacha feared all Italy was included in this Republic, and that he would be obliged to respect all ships of that part of Europe, which would ruin his marine. On his arrival at Alexandria he waited on General Stuart, who commanded the English, and told him he was ordered to demand a speedy evacuation, and the execution of the Treaty of Amiens. General Stuart said he had no orders to quit Alexandria, and might probably pass the winter there. He visited the Pacha of Alexandria and the Capitan Bey, commander of the Ottoman forces. He set out for Cairo, where he visited the Turkish Chiefs, the Sheiks, &c. and lastly Madam Murad Bey : but though he made peace between the Swedes and the Bey of Tripoli, he found that to do the same between the Beys of Egypt and the Turkish Chiefs was not so easy ; for, although the Turkish forces were beaten in five successive battles, they had orders to carry on a war of extermination. He says, that all through Egypt he found the greatest regard evinced for the French, and that the English in Cairo were witnesses of the attachment of that city to the French. He wrote to Dgezzar Pacha, that peace being concluded between France and the Porte, the situation of commerce should be as before the war, and that he was charged by the First Consul to confer with him on these matters. Dgezzar received the messenger coldly, and wished to see him personally, but would not write. He went to wait on him, and found him sitting on a carpet, on one side having a pistol with four barrels, a small air-gun, a sabre, and a hatchet. After some common-place conversation, he said, he wished the Consul not to send as commissary of commercial relations a lame or blind man, because they would say that

The Cape of Good Hope retained by the English.

he had made them so ; and he wished, whoever was sent, to reside at Seide, as the most commercial part in his dominions. Bonaparte, he said, was small, but the greatest of mankind ; that he was much regretted at Cairo, where they would be glad to see him again. From all he said, it appeared he wished to be on good terms with the First Consul. He observed, that his word was as sacred as treaties. His palace was built with much taste and elegance ; he occupies all Palestine, except Jaffa, which has been besieged nearly five months by 9000 men. Sebastiani sailed for Zante, where he found the isle and the republic split into different parties. He assembled the members of the constituted authorities at the governor's, and requested them to wait the new constitution in silence ; they heard him with great enthusiasm, and called out, " France for ever ! Bonaparte for ever !" which words were repeated by a great croud as he went out. He concludes his report with a very correct detail of the English forces in Egypt, and those of the Turks.

This report of Sebastiani's was, as may be supposed, looked on as a degree of hostility in England, as was the sending commercial residents to London, Dublin, and other places, and their having orders to procure a knowledge of the soundings, &c. but neither side was satisfied with the peace ; and as war more suited the English than what they considered in no better light than an armistice, they had been busy in putting an end to it by an open rupture. Although an order had been given for restoring the French West-India islands and the Cape of Good Hope, yet the latter was luckily saved ; when the order arrived for keeping the Cape most of the English garrison were on board the ships, and some of the forts had been given up to the Dutch Government ; the Eng-

The English refuse to give up Malta.

lish Commander, however, re-landed his troops, got possession of the forts given up, and kept possession of the settlement till counter orders arrived. Pondicherry in the East, and some of the islands in the West Indies, were, however, given up to the French.

The French were much annoyed during this feverish peace, by the partiality of the English to the French Princes and Royalists, pensioned in this country. The dethroned monarch was styled "King of France," and the movements of the family were reported in some papers, as if they were a part of the Royal Family of Great Britain. M. Otto expressed the wish of Bonaparte that the Princes should be sent to Warsaw, where the head of them was; and that Georges, the assassin, and many English pensioners should be sent to Canada; but of this we know nothing more than that they were not sent.

The English for a twelvemonth had refused to give up Malta, till in February 1803, the First Consul told Lord Whitworth, he would rather see the English in possession of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, than they should remain in Malta; and that keeping it longer would be looked on as the beginning of hostilities. England, in reply, assured the French Government, that some fresh arrangement was necessary to that island; which should have been made, if Colonel Sebastiani's report, where he tells the First Consul that 6000 French were enough to take all Egypt, had not required an explanation on that head.

The King's declaration, however, communicated to parliament on the 8th of March, did away every doubt, and ended the discussion and delusion.

"His desires and endeavours to preserve peace having failed, he is confident he shall receive the same support from his Parliament and his people, as he has already ex-

Declaration of the King of England.

perienced, whenever the honour of his crown was attacked. It was his wish to end all hostilities between the two counfries, and adopt measures to tranquillize all Europe, and the same motives have since governed his conduct. When the Treaty of Amiens was concluded, his courts were open to the people of France for legal redress ; all sequestrations taken off their property, all prohibitions removed, and they were placed on the same footing as those of other states in amity with his Majesty, with which there was no treaty of commerce ; but the French Government acted in a very different manner ; in no case has justice been given to those who were aggrieved, nor any satisfactory answer given to the representations of his Majesty's ambassador at Paris. A number of persons were sent over as commercial agents or consuls, who had no right to that character, as there was no commercial treaty between his Majesty and the French Republic.

Several of those were military men, and furnished with instructions to obtain soundings of the harbours, and get military surveys of the places where they were to reside. His Majesty felt it his duty to prevent their departure to their destination, and stated the necessity of withdrawing them ; and it must be admitted that the instructions given to them should be looked on as indications of the Government by whom they were employed.

The system of violence which marked the proceedings of the French Governments during the war, has been continued since its termination ; a French army was kept in Holland against the will of the Batavian Government, and against three solemn treaties. They have violated the independence of the Swiss nation, and have added to France, Piedmont, Parma, and Placentia, with the island of Elba, without giving any thing to the King of Sardinia,

Continuation of the Declaration.

whom they have deprived of the most valuable part of his territories, though bound by an engagement with Russia to provide for his establishment. Indeed it may with confidence be asserted, that the time since the passing of the treaty, has been a continued scene of aggression and insult by the French Government.

His Majesty, by the solicitations of the Swiss nation, was induced to avert the evils pending over that country, by a representation to the French Government; this was couched in the mildest terms, but he learned with the utmost regret, that nothing was done to prevent them. The French Government now said, that his Majesty could not complain of France on any thing which was not a part of the Treaty of Amiens. This was a new doctrine, yet his Majesty thought fit to abstain from a recurrence to hostilities, although he felt the necessity of increased vigilance.

He was then called upon by the French Government to evacuate Malta. He had shewn his disposition to carry into full effect the Treaty of Amiens; when the French Government wished the Neapolitan troops to be sent to Malta, his Majesty consented without delay, and ordered them to be admitted, thus shewing no wish to avoid the execution of the treaty; yet all the articles relative to Malta were in their former state; but many changes having taken place in the *Langues*, prevented the final arrangement. The order of St John cannot now be looked on as the same to which the Island was to be restored, and its funds have been almost, if not wholly sequestered. As France and Spain have assisted in the changes which have taken place, it is to them the non-execution of the 16th Article of the treaty must be ascribed. His Majesty has learned, that the French Government have formed

His Majesty retaliates against France.

the ideas of a partition of the Turkish empire, this must be evident to the world from the official report of Colonel Sebastiani, from the conduct of that officer in Egypt, Syria, and the Ionian islands, and from the First Consul himself in his admission to Lord Malmesbury ; his Majesty therefore thinks, that from the conduct of France, he has a claim to refuse the giving up of Malta at present ; yet the French Government, in language the most peremptory, demanded the evacuation of Malta, or the renewal of war.

Colonel Sebastiani's report has the most unwarrantable charges against his Majesty's Government, the officer who commanded his forces in Egypt, and the British army there ; this bears evidence that it is the official report of an agent, published by government, who thereby give it their sanction.

The First Consul's conduct to his Majesty's ambassador, before the ministers of most of the states of Europe, is another instance of the provocation of the French which could not well be passed over ; and the explanation of this affair aggravates the affront, more than palliates it.

The French minister at Hamburgh caused a gross libel to be published in the Gazette of that town ; the senate of that city was obliged to comply, and a free state, by the threats of France, made to propagate offensive and unfounded calumnies against his Majesty and his government. Many things might be added, all calculated to shew they were not the effect of accident, but part of a system to degrade and insult his Majesty and his government.

He has proceeded with the greatest temper and moderation, but all his efforts have proved abortive, and he has ordered his ambassador to leave Paris. In so doing,

he wishes to close a period of suspense injurious to his subjects; yet he is still ready to concur in any arrangement, by which satisfaction may be given him for the insults he has received, and security given against further encroachments by France. He is actuated by no wish to interfere with any other state, but solely by what is due to the honour of his crown and the interests of his people, and by an anxious desire to stop the progress of a system which may be fatal to the civilized world."

From March till May, however, there were still hopes of an amicable termination of affairs, but on the 16th of this month his Majesty sent a message to both Houses, that he had recalled his Ambassador from Paris, and that the French ambassador had left London.

The reasons given by ministers for going to war were ably contested in the House of Lords. The Marquis of Lansdowne thought the aggression of France in Switzerland belonged more to Austria and the continental powers than to us, and that reconciliation would do more than arms. Mr. Fox contended, that the wish of Bonaparte to possess Egypt was not a sufficient ground for war, or otherwise we should never have been at peace with the Bourbons; he compared our immense acquisitions in India, with the power of the French on the continent, and contended that each had an equal right to complain. Russia, he said, would have guaranteed Malta, but we chose to keep it for ten years. As to Sebastiani's mission, the old French Government, he observed, had always some such missionary at work, and if war was to be made on that ground, Europe would never be at peace. From all this it is evident that an apology from France was hardly wanting, when some of the greatest statesmen in England made it for her.

The Duke of Cambridge goes to Hanover.

CHAPTER XCV.

BOTH nations began to develop their means of attack; Malta, the cause of the war, was so strong, and well garrisoned that France could have no hope of taking it by force; Great Britain would of course direct her strength against the maritime possessions of France, while the latter, powerful by land, would obstruct her commerce on the continent.

Troops were immediately sent to the West Indies, the defensive force, in its military sense was called out, and numbers appeared; but the reduction of St. Lucia and Tobago, shewed it was not meant to follow a mere defensive system, and preparations were made for attacking France in several quarters. France was not idle, Admiral Linois sailed for the East Indies with a strong fleet, and land forces to reinforce the Cape, and strengthen the French garrisons. The army of Italy threatened to take possession of all the strong posts in the kingdom of Naples, near the Adriatic, and their proclamations expressed it to be necessary while England retained Malta.

The French were no less active in Germany; General Mortier summoned the Hanoverian Electorate to surrender to his army; but it is plain that Bonaparte wished to leave an opening for peace, as General Mortier stated he only wished to occupy the country as a pledge for Malta, according to the Treaty of Amiens, and he had done this only to make the King of England maintain the Treaty of Amiens. The Duke of Cambridge was sent over to Hanover, as Commander in Chief,

The Hanoverians capitulate not to serve against France.

and he published proclamations calling on all able to bear arms to defend their country, yet the people were too cautious; in vain the Duke of Cambridge told them he was ready to share their dangers; they rather seemed to listen to General Mortier, who advised them to be careful of themselves, and not make themselves the victims; to this the Hanoverians paid attention, and would not oppose the French. The military made some trifling opposition, which was of no use, and they were forced to capitulate, and engage not to serve against France or her allies, till regularly exchanged.

Bonaparte caused an article to be inserted in the *Hamburg "Correspondenten,"* a paper printed in the German language; it began by stating, that a war of newspapers was carried on for months between France and England, but to this the French Government attached no importance; but suddenly a message from the Cabinet of St. James's told all Europe, that France was making great preparations in the ports of Holland and France; this he utterly denies, as there were only one or two line of battle ships and a few frigates, destined for the colonies; on the news of the message all eyes were turned on the Cabinet of the Tuilleries; at the assembly for the presentation of foreigners, which Madame Bonaparte holds once a month, which was splendid as usual, the Consul appeared, and said to the English ambassador, they had been at war for twelve years; the King of England says, that France is making great naval preparations, but he is in error; the whole fleet is gone to St. Domingo and the colonies; in Holland there are only preparations for the expedition under General Victor, which is destined for Louisiana. England should have evacuated Malta, yet that is not done, though there cannot be a doubt, from

The English evacuate Alexandria.

the solemn treaty entered into. The French may be killed, but cannot be intimidated.

During the evening the First Consul said to M. Markoff, the Russian Ambassador, that the British wish to keep Malta for five years more, but that it was insulting, and treaties must be observed. And when the English ambassador was going to retire, he said to him, that if they must go to war, the responsibility must be with those who refuse to observe the treaties they had concluded.

From the *Moniteur* we first learned that the English evacuated Alexandria on the 17th of March, and Elfi Bey embarked as ambassador from the Beys in Egypt to the Court of London.

At this time the First Consul was thrown out of a phæton in the Park of St. Cloud ; the fall was violent, but he was no otherwise hurt than by a slight bruise in the hand.

The minds of the people of Paris were prepared for war by many circumstances, chiefly by a conversation between Lord Whitworth and the First Consul, which his Lordship states in a letter to Lord Hawkesbury. He tells him, that the First Consul having expressed a wish to see him, he went, and was received with much attention ; they sat down, and the Consul began by regretting that the Treaty of Amiens, not being followed by the natural effects of peace, had produced nothing but jealousy and mistrust, and the point must come to an issue ; he stated the several provocations which he pretended to have received from England, and said, he would rather see us in the possession of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine than Malta ; he spoke of the abuse against him in the English prints, and which appeared in the French papers published in London, which he considered

as more mischievous; he complained of the protection given to Georges, and others of his description, who were permitted to remain in England; he admitted that his irritation against England daily increased, for every wind brought enmity and hatred against him.

Talking of Egypt, he could easily, he said, have taken possession of it by sending 25,000 men to Aboukir, but he did not think it worth the risk of a war, as Egypt, sooner or later, would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkish empire, or by an arrangement with the Porte.

He asked what he should gain by going to war with England; he had no means of offence but a descent, and that he was determined to attempt; he talked much on this subject, but did not at all lessen the danger; there were an hundred chances against him, yet he would attempt it if war took place; he talked much on the force of the two countries, which together, might govern the world; nothing had been able to conquer the hatred of the British Government, and the point now was peace or war; if war was necessary, it was only to say so, and refuse to fulfil the treaty; to have a peace the Treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled, the abuse in the public prints kept within bounds, and protection, given to his bitterest enemies, withdrawn; he talked much of the different states of Europe, to shew there was no power with which England could coalesce; our interest was to gain time, and renew the war at a more favourable period. Lord Whitworth endeavoured to reason with him on every subject which he broached, and the conversation lasted for some considerable time, upwards of two hours, when they parted, apparently in good humour.

Although Lord Whitworth's return from Paris natu-

St. Domingo evacuated by the French.

rally shut out every hope of peace, yet another circumstance, that soon followed, raised the spirit of hostility beyond all former bounds; this was an order to seize all the English in France, announced in the *Moniteur*.

Holland, of course, was forced to follow the footsteps of France; a message was sent from the Government to the Legislative Body, that the Republic, as an ally of France, must take part in the war; and they trusted in Divine Providence, and the justice of their cause; the Batavian army was placed under the orders of the French commander. All ship carpenters and boat-builders throughout France were called on to work for Government.

The King of Etruria died just at this time, and the Queen was declared regent for her son, who was but three years old.

Both the English and French Governments used every possible exertion. A fast was ordered in England, and Bonaparte, having just planted religion, made an appeal to the religious sentiments of his country; the clergy hailed him as the favourite of Providence; this was looked on by many as mere vanity, nay, as blasphemy; but subsequent events confirmed the character of Bonaparte more than otherwise.

The French were not deficient in preparing by land; they said the disposable force of the Republic amounted to 600,000 men. St. Domingo was this year finally evacuated by the French, and they lost all their influence in the West Indies.

Preparations were going on in the French ports of a very hostile nature, and Admiral Bruix issued a proclamation from Boulogne; he notified his appointment by the First Consul, at which he feels himself, as it were,

Conspiracy discovered at Paris.

raised above himself; tells them they are destined against England, and encourages them to subordination and discipline; bids them multiply their services, and the nation which oppresses the seas will be conquered by terror.

The Paris papers of the 12th of February, announced the discovery of a conspiracy of a very complicated nature; they said, that 150 men in the uniform of the guards, were to seize Bonaparte at Malmaison, or elsewhere, and to carry him off. One of the conspirators gave information, and the uniforms were discovered. Georges, chief of the Chouans, escaped by barely a quarter of an hour. The officers of the police took the necessary steps, and discovered from the mistress of an inn, that she was to send to a certain house, on a particular day, twenty bottles of wine; the officers took the wine, went to the house, and found several people, who defended themselves resolutely. General Moreau was among those arrested, and the Government announced the plot to the Legislative Assembly. The whole of this conspiracy was attributed to the English.

Regnier, the Grand Judge, reported that a band of assassins in the pay of England, were still in La Vendee. It was also stated that an accomplice was seized at Calais, from England, and that his papers proved the criminality of General Moreau; that a number of English brigands were landed unobserved, near Dieppe, where people received them, and during the night conducted them to Paris.

General Moreau's brother made a most energetic speech, declaring the whole an infamous calumny, and demanded that his brother might be brought to trial; the Senate addressed Bonaparte in a congratulatory tone, to which he replied, that his life would last as long as it

Seizure of the Duke d'Enghien.

was of use to the nation ; and that he wishes the French people to understand, that existence without their affection would be of no consolation to him.

General Pichegru was not arrested for some time ; several men entered his apartment so suddenly that he could not use his pistols, which lay on the table. The barriers were so watched that Georges could not escape. Both Georges and Moreau were found guilty ; the first was executed, the latter pardoned, on the condition of going to America ; and Pichegru died in prison ; it was said that he strangled himself, and he was buried in a place allotted to suicides. Numbers of Royalists were executed in the departments, being found without passports, a proof of their designs in returning to France.

This attempt upon the life of Bonaparte, after he was acknowledged the lawful sovereign of France was not passed over by the *Moniteur* without many observations, one of which was, that England relied on being able to announce to Parliament that they had caused the First Consul to be assassinated ; but, it adds, that He who disposes of the life of man ordained it otherwise.

The next thing that took the public attention was the seizing the Duke of Enghein at Ettenheim, in the territory of the Elector of Baden, where many emigrants, said to be in the pay of England, were assembled. Notice of this meeting being sent to Paris, Bonaparte sent his aide-du-camp, M. de Caulincourt, who marched towards Offenbourg, and ordered the commandant to point out the emigrants. Fifteen were immediately arrested, among whom was the Duke d'Enghein. The Elector of Baden made no resistance, but sent off to his son-in-law, the Emperor of Russia ; when the Duke arrived at Paris, he was sent to the castle of Vincennes, tried and condemned

The Duke d'Enghien's Execution at Vincennes.

by a military commission, who were assembled for the purpose. He was immediately transferred to the wood of Vincennes. He wished to speak with the First Consul, but in vain ; he met death with much resolution, and would not allow his eyes to be bound ; seven bullets out of nine took place. He was buried in the garden of the castle. His age was thirty-two.

The Grand judge endeavoured to prove, that Mr. Drake, the British minister at Munich, was busy in the plan to destroy the French Government, by causing the powder mill to be blown up, and creating a disaffection in the Annees. Several letters on this subject were given at length in the *Moniteur* ; one desiring an address to the army to be printed, not to suffer Moreau to be a victim to the jealousy of Bonaparte. These papers were sent to the different foreign courts, all of whom returned indifferent answers, except the American minister, who entered into a long detail, and congratulated Bonaparte on his escape from the plots of the assassins. Sweden returned no answer.

The French alledged, that the principles of assassination adopted by the English minister, had been talked of at Madrid, where our ambassador, Mr. Frere is said to have asserted, that, situated as England was, assassination was justifiable, to take her out of the situation she was placed in ; to which the Prince of Peace replied, that if France adopted the same principle, nations would attack each other by means of assassins. To this the *Moniteur* remarks, that the observation of the Prince of Peace has been verified ; and while England was employing the Count d'Artois as an assassin, one of his house was suffering under the sword of justice.

In April, Lord Hawkesbury addressed a circular note

The Stone Expedition sails from England.

to the different ministers at the court of London, in which he contended that the belligerent powers should avail themselves of all discontents in the countries with which they might be at war, and accused the French of corresponding with his Majesty's disaffected subjects in Ireland; alluding at the same time to a corps of Irish rebels in the service of France then on the coasts to join against this Government. It does not appear that this reasoning was replied to by one ambassador. It covered the plea for assassinating Kings and Princes, under the idea of assisting the inhabitants discontented with any government that might be at war with Great Britain.

This year was remarkable, in the first instance for an undertaking called the stone expedition, a design which originated with a London bookseller; it was intended to have sent in a number of old vessels filled with stones, by fair wind, into the different harbours in France, where the flotilla was assembled, and to sink them at the entrances. This, they said, would be of more utility than if we could burn half their towns, and slay 200,000 fighting men. Though tried it could not be effected, some of the vessels sunk before they reached the place of their destination. The French ridicule on this subject was uncommonly poignant.

Mr. Addington was compelled to resign his situation as Prime Minister, and it was soon known that Mr. Pitt was to succeed him. Lord Melville was to be his colleague, and at the head of the Admiralty. Mr. Addington retired from office with the character of a regard for his country; his manners were pleasing, and he conciliated all parties.

Napoleon proclaimed Emperor of the French.

CHAPTER XCVI.

A MORE important change was, however, meditated in France ; the First Consul, on his arrival at that dignity, thought proper to have it established by the people ; this was no longer necessary to make him Emperor, for the Legislative Bodies pointed to him the necessity for his taking the Imperial title. Carnot only opposed it, as he was against vesting the consular power in Bonaparte for life ; but this gave the business rather the appearance of free debate. It was of little consequence whether, as Sovereign of France he should be called First Consul or Emperor. The Tribune of the 5th of May passed a vote, that Napoleon Bonaparte, the First Consul, be proclaimed Emperor of the French, and be invested with the government of the French Republic ; that the title and the Imperial power be made hereditary in his family in the male line ; the rights of the people to be preserved in all their integrity. This decree was carried by acclamation, with the exception of Carnot. He was replied to by a member, who was astonished, he said, at an opposition to what could prevent the return of miseries.

Joseph and Louis Bonaparte were created Princes of France, the former made colonel of the 4th regiment of the line, and ordered to Boulogne to join the Army of England. The Consul, Cambaceres, President of the Senate, presented the act to the Sovereign on the 18th of May at St. Cloud ; he addressed him in a long speech, in

The Emperor appoints the great Officers.

which he says that the decree just passed the Senate is only the expression of the people; it adds nothing to his glory or his rights; it is only a tribute which the nation pays its dignity. France was in a sad state, its armies defeated, public credit annihilated, every thing in confusion, when he appeared, and recalled victory to their standards; every thing changed; his genius has worked miracles; the French people delegate to him a power which his interests forbid him to exercise by himself. Happy the Prince who holds his power by the will and confidence of the citizens. The Senate entreat his Majesty, that their decree be carried into execution immediately, and that Napoleon be proclaimed Emperor of the French.

The Emperor replied, that all which could contribute to the good of the country is closely connected with his happiness; he accepts the title they think necessary to the glory of the nation, and hopes France will never repent surrounding his family with honours.

The Senate was admitted to an audience with her Majesty the Empress, when the Consul, Cambacères, addressed her; his speech was, as may be supposed, a fulsome address, flattering in the extreme; it recapitulated all her good qualities, and great and praise-worthy actions, and the Senate took pride to itself, for being the first to salute her Empress.

The *Senatus Consultum* was proclaimed by the Emperor, and published in Paris next day at noon. His Imperial Majesty made his Imperial Highness Prince Joseph Bonaparte, Grand Elector; Prince Louis Bonaparte, Constable; the Consul Cambacères, Arch-Chancellor; and the Consul Lebrun, Arch-Treasurer of the Empire. They took the oaths in presence of the Emperor.

The Emperor makes several Generals Marshals.

The Emperor wrote a letter to the Consul Cambaceres, (and a similar one to Consul Lebrun,) in which he says, his titles are changed, but his functions, and the Emperor's confidence the same; he will manifest the wisdom of his Counsels, and those distinguished talents which gave such a share in all the good he has done; he only requests a continuance of the same sentiments for him and for the state.

He next decrees a number of Generals to be Marshals of the Empire, all of them well known by their talents.

This step of Bonaparte's, it might be supposed would have been satisfactory to those in England, who were advocates for the regular government; but this was not the case, they were louder in their complaints than ever; the hope of overturning the new order of things was now desperate; the Bourbons would doubtless have restored the Pope, and all the authority of the clergy; but it was decreed, that *their time should be no longer*.

Napoleon did not suffer his elevation to pass as a civil ceremony, but strove to give it all the effect he could from the aid of the religious institutions; his dignity was announced to the French bishops in a letter, which concludes by desiring the *Veni Creator* and *Te Deum* to be sung in all their churches. A new form of prayer was also to be used; regulations were also laid down for the coronation, which was to take place in November; many of the public functionaries, and detachments of the different military corps were ordered to attend at Paris on the occasion: but the new Emperor and his Court were called off by different circumstances from these new honours. Though the Duke d'Enghien had been arrested in the territory of Baden, yet it appeared that although this Prince sent a complaint to his son-in-law, the Em-

The Emperor of Russia takes up the Cause of the Duke d'Enghien.

peror of Russia, he might have prevented the Duke from falling into the hands of the French; in fact, it appeared, that M. Talleyrand wrote to his minister by General Caulincourt, stating that the First Consul had been warned that the Duke and General Dumourier were among the Emigrants at Ettenheim, devising plots against his person, and the safety of France; as they could not be there without the permission of his Electoral Highness, the First Consul sees with great concern a Prince he has distinguished by his friendship giving an asylum to the determined enemies of France, he therefore sends General Caulincourt, who is charged with the execution of the First Consul's orders, which he will do with all the care and attention his Highness can wish.

The Emperor of Russia and the Elector of Baden being, as it will be seen, related, it might be that the emigrants were placed at Offenbourg and Ettenheim, as a snare to make the French Government commit itself with Russia and the Empire of Germany. The Emperor of Russia was early in shewing the interest he felt in the fate of the Duke d'Enghien, and transmitted a note to Paris, in which he argues against the illegality of France invading the territory of the Elector of Baden in the manner it had done, and he could not in silence pass over this event, which has filled all Germany with consternation. He has given orders to his resident at Ratisbon to deliver a note to the Diet, representing the necessity of remonstrating with the French Government against this violation of the German territory; he is sure the First Consul will attend to the German political body, and endeavour to relieve all Europe from the alarm he must have occasioned.

Talleyrand, in his answer, observed, that as Prussia

The Russian Minister prepares to leave Paris.

and Austria, the two powers principally concerned in the fate of the German Empire, understood that the French Government could arrest, at two leagues distance only from her own frontier, French rebels conspiring against their country, they being satisfied, the First Consul would have nothing to say to the Emperor of Russia, on what in nowise concerned his interest: but he added, if his Majesty wished for war, there was no need of pretences. His note went further, and accused Russia of keeping spies at Dresden and Rome, to disquiet the neighbouring states.

The Emperor of Russia, though determined to fight, did not want to begin before he called the German Empire to his assistance: but the flame, thus kindled, was some time before it broke out; after much recrimination on both sides, the Russian minister, d'Oubril, who began only on the subject of the Duke d'Enghien, added several new demands, which he threw into a diplomatic form.

The French Government was to evacuate the kingdom of Naples, and engage to respect the neutrality of that kingdom; to regulate the affairs of Italy; to indemnify the King of Sardinia for the losses he has sustained; to evacuate and withdraw its troops from the north of Germany; and to respect the neutrality of the Germanic Body.

The answer was soon given and M. d'Oubril prepared to leave Paris. But France had still more offensive and hostile language from Sweden; a note was presented by the Swedish minister at Ratisbon, in which the King, as Duke of the Interior Pomerania, protested against the seizure of the Duke d'Enghien, and called on the Germanic Body to obtain satisfaction from France for the violation of its territory.

The Emperor of Germany takes the Title of Emperor of Austria.

The Moniteur accused him of folly in meddling where he could do no good nor harm ; of insulting his father-in-law, the Elector of Baden, in his capital of Carlsruhe, and of prejudicing the interests of his brother-in-law, the Elector of Bavaria, while he (the King) resided at Munich ; and of having abandoned the Danes, his allies, before the English bombarded Copenhagen. The answer to these charges is a curious piece of diplomatic correspondence.

In this answer he says, *Monsieur Napoleon Bonaparte* has inserted improper, insolent, and ridiculous observations in the Moniteur of the 4th of August, all of so extraordinary a nature that his Majesty has been hardly able to comprehend the object of such an act of political extravagance ; it states that as his Majesty cannot, consistent with the dignity or honour of his crown, permit any official intercourse after such an insult, all diplomatic intercourse is to cease between the French legation at Stockholm and his Majesty's Government.

An order was issued at Stockholm, by which all French publications were prohibited from being brought into Sweden.

The Emperor Francis, feeling that he was no longer Emperor of Germany, determined on assuming the new title of Emperor of Austria. A royal patent, dated Vienna, appeared, in which he declares, that on mature reflection he had determined to assume for himself and his successors, the title and dignity of Hereditary Emperor of Austria.

This title was quietly assumed in the cabinet ; but, with the one Napoleon was supposed to confer on himself, both were to be lost or won in the field.

The Emperor of Russia was known to be preparing for

The French in St. Domingo surrender.

war, and as the English ministers boasted of the good intentions of Austria, it was not difficult to foresee the storm that followed.

The supplies of St. Domingo being totally cut off by the British cruizers, the French troops, harassed by the blacks, surrendered to the British squadron, and thus saved their lives. General Rochambeau, and many of his officers, were brought to England. Dessalines, the black chief, issued a bold proclamation, which seemed more the production of France than of the islands ; in this he denounces death to those who come against them, and bids the people remember the deplorable fate of their departed brethren in Europe, alluding, no doubt, to the murder of Toussaint Louverture, at Paris ; it goes on in a strain of great violence, and concludes by ordering all the generals to grant succours, encouragement, and protection to all friendly nations, who wish to establish commercial relations in the island.

This flaming manifesto was, however, little more than empty sound ; Dessalines seemed to forget that the Philistines were not quite driven out of the land ; the Spaniards, who were in the French interest, remained in the city and ports of St. Domingo ; and the French troops under General Ferrand, were too well skilled in the arts of defence to be driven out, even by Dessaline's 60,000 warriors he boasted of.

Dessalines proved a worse tyrant than his predecessors, no less than 26,000 whites are said to have been put to death by his order ! He denounced death against any of his subjects, who should marry, or even keep a white woman. He is said to have coined money, to have established a legion of honour, and styled himself Emperor of Hayti. Very different from him was the ill-fated

Toussaint Louverture. We have already mentioned his surrender, and his being sent to France by General Le Clerc. He was originally a slave, born on the estate of the *ci-devant* Count de Noe, about four miles from Cape François; he was near fifty years of age when he came into notice; he had learned to read and write; the overseer made him his coachman, and soon after gave him the charge of a number of slaves. When the troubles broke out, he was never accused of offering violence to the whites massacred in 1791, but as one of the black chiefs succeeded in his designs, and took up arms, Toussaint fled to him, and acted as secretary. Here his genius found scope; he shewed a great talent for military affairs, was soon raised to the rank of captain in the guards, and next to the command of a division. Thus he was situated when the war took place between France and Spain; the latter power engaged him and Jean François in their service, and Toussaint was a Lieutenant-General of the armies of the King of Spain, in their part of St. Domingo. The two commissioners from France at last drew these two officers into the service of the Republic. Toussaint's first act was his releasing General Lavaux from prison in Cape François, where he was to have been the victim of the seditions. This raised him so high, that Lavaux proclaimed him, "The avenger of the constituted authorities, and the saviour of the white people." He was made general of division, and Lieutenant-Governor of St. Domingo. It was owing to his bravery that several places were taken from the British, so that in one year Toussaint was created General in Chief of the armies of St. Domingo, and France was filled with his renown; he grew vain, and wished to send the commissioner home to France, and had got a number of officers over to his pur-

pose ; but Etienne Mentor, another Negro, adjutant-general, strongly resisted it. Toussaint sent Christophe, (he who set fire to Cape François) to arrest him, and he was lodged in prison. Many officers, attached to the mother country, loudly exclaimed against Toussaint, and proposed to put him in arrest ; but he sent agents to the Directory, and triumphed over the commissioner. The Directory were so much deceived that they sent Toussaint some valuable presents, a costly dress, a superb sabre, and several pair of pistols.

The French Government not choosing to leave all in his hands, sent over General Hedouville, a respectable, good character, to assist in the administration. Toussaint resisted his authority ; some British troops being in the island, Toussaint signed the capitulation with General Maitland, without the participation of General Hedouville, the lawful commissioner. This rendered Toussaint desperate ; he went further and further from the line of his duty as a subject ; so that it is not strange, after his surrender to General Le Clerc, that he should have intrigued for the recovery of the influence he had lost. He might have had the First Consul for his friend, but chose to make him his enemy.

The 25th of May 1804, was proclaimed a day of solemn fasting in England. The Emperor of Russia, in regard for the Duke d'Eughien and the ancient blood royal of France, ordered all his ambassadors to go into mourning. The French Royalists in England performed a solemn mass for the repose of the soul of the Duke. But his Majesty's illness gave more weight to our fast ; daily bulletins were issued at St. James's and the mansion house, and a new form of prayer was appointed for the occasion.

Action with the French Flotilla off Ostend.

Much having been said, in and out of parliament, of the French small craft preparing for the invasion of this country, it was thought necessary to take some account of them. Sir Sidney Smith was stationed in command between Flushing and Ostend, where he soon encountered the French Flotilla under Admiral Verheul. This action was neither dishonourable to Sir Sidney, nor the enemy he engaged; the enemy's vessels, to the number of 59 sail of all sizes, came out from Flushing and steered along shore for Ostend; he gave the signal to engage, which was obeyed with great alacrity, and our vessels got over the sand banks to attack them; the enemy attempted to get back to Flushing, but were harassed; the leader struck and the crew deserted her, but she was recovered by the followers; the artillery from the town and camp, and the rowing gun-boats from the pier, kept up a constant and well-directed fire for their support; several vessels were driven on shore, and recovered by the army. The tide falling, our vessels were obliged to haul off into deeper water, and the enemy's vessels that were not on shore, or too much shattered, reached Ostend. We sunk four of the convoy, and much injured several others. The French account makes this a complete triumph. From Sir Sidney's despatches it is evident he could not arrest the enemy's progress; and even the *Amiable* frigate could not cope with a single *praam*, for "the artillery men from the army got on board, when the said *praam* renewed her fire on the *Amiable*, with the precision of a land-battery." Bonaparte attached much consequence to this engagement, and the Dutch Admiral Verheul became a great favourite, and it is well known he does not favour fools or coxcombs.

Catamarans used against the French.

CHAPTER XCVII.

As the French Emperor was visiting his different sea-ports, and other places, our squadron off Boulogne attacked some of the flotilla that had ventured out of the road while he was there. No serious impression was made by this attempt; the Constitution cutter was sunk, but the crew were saved; as usual our loss was from the batteries on shore, who could thus avoid their own, and strike our vessels beyond them; the equality with which the French fought their small craft in this way, is evident from the letters of our commanders. Captain Owen, who commanded on the Boulogne station, gives an account of an action with 25 sail of vessels who got down to Boulogne, which he engaged off Cape Blanc Nez; they kept in such shoal water, that he could not prevent their passing, and he lost some men. Captain Handcock, in a letter to Lord Keith, states an attack made by the vessels under him on a division from Ostend, the action continued for some time, when it falling dark, and being in shoal water, the Conflict took the ground, and every effort to get her off was ineffectual; the enemy, however, got possession of her, and she was irrecoverably lost; some men were wounded in this attack.

The catamaran experiment was tried on the 3d of October: these catamarans, meant to burn the French ships in harbour were nothing more than caissons filled with

Four Spanish Frigates attacked by the English.

combustibles and powder, to be sent among the French vessels to destroy them; fire-ships were also got ready along with them. The fleet sailed from the Downs to see this glorious ruin; the night favoured their views; the caissons were towed as close to the boats as possible, and went off with a prodigious noise; the fire-ships increased the confusion; the British ships and the batteries on shore kept up a heavy fire on each other.

It was at first said, that 150 gun-boats had been sunk or destroyed; but the number was scarcely, if at all, diminished; thus the immense fortifications on our coast, and the expensive warfare carried on against that of France, was ruinous; while the French loss was a few gun-boats occasionally sunk or run aground; the French allow that they had some few destroyed by the bursting of some of our combustibles; but it was said that Lord Keith returned to Deal and Dover, with 200 men less than he took out with him. Another attempt was made to blow up part of Fort Rouge at Calais; an explosion vessel was fired, but she could not get near enough to do any material injury to the enemy.

We had an ambassador at Madrid, and a Fleet on the Spanish coast, supplied every day from Cadiz; but Mr. Pitt thought of a way to get some Spanish frigates, coming home laden with treasure, and he determined to sacrifice every thing to his purpose; Captain Moore, of the Indefatigable was sent to lie in wait for them; and he wrote an account of the transaction to Admiral Cornwallis.

He says, that on coming up with them, and hailing them to shorten sail, without effect, he fired across the Rear-Admiral, who then shortened sail; he sent on board to say his orders were to detain the squadron; that he

Spain issues a Declaration of War.

wished to do it without bloodshed, but his determination must be instantaneous; the officer returned with an unsatisfactory answer, when the action began in less than ten minutes; La Mercedes blew up with a tremendous explosion, and the other three successively surrendered; they had about 4,000,000 dollars, 800,000 of which were on board the Mercedes; about forty of that ship's crew were saved on the floating fragments. The three other frigates had upwards of an hundred killed and wounded.

There is no doubt but the nation at large would have felt the calamity thus inflicted, but the public papers represented that the seizing the Spanish money prevented it getting into the hands of Bonaparte; this passed at Lloyd's and the Stock Exchange, but the more exalted rank of people were ashamed of it; the Duke of Clarence, who had never systematically opposed ministry, declared in the House of Lords, "that the war with Spain was begun by an act of piracy and murder."

The planners of this act thought they could detach the Spaniards by a blow, from their alliance with Bonaparte, and sooner than risk their wealth at sea, throw themselves into the power of Britain; Spanish honour, however, weakened as they had been, and humbled by Providence, rose superior; the Court of Spain did not hesitate to prefer war, and on the 12th of December a declaration was issued in the Madrid Gazette.

This declaration recapitulates the conduct of Spain during the time previous to, and after the Treaty of Amiens; that his Majesty the King of Spain gave intimation to the British Government of his intention to maintain the strictest neutrality during the war. The British ships on the Spanish station were treated with

The Prince of Peace publishes an Address.

every kindness and attention; they daily received provisions from Spain, and were lying quietly in their harbours, when suddenly four Spanish frigates, sailing in the full security of peace, were attacked, by orders signed by the English Government, when every thing bore the appearance of a friendly union between the two countries; their orders further were to sink every Spanish ship under one hundred tons, and to make prizes of, and carry to Malta those only which exceeded that rate. The English alledged that the Spanish frigates were only detained till Spain gave the desired securities, that she would observe the strictest neutrality. What satisfaction can England give to Spain for the destruction of the frigate *Mercedes*, with all its cargo, and the distinguished passengers who have perished! Considering every circumstance, his Majesty has ordered his minister in London to retire, and doubts not that his subjects will omit no means of taking complete vengeance for the insult offered to the Spanish flag. The concluding part of the declaration relates to the arming corsairs against the enemy.

The Prince of Peace published a long address to Spain, from Madrid, in December 1804; this was merely a sort of repetition of the King's declaration as to facts, but more violent in its language.

The seizure of the Spanish treasure, which occasioned the war with that country, is exactly in point with the Copenhagen expedition; yet it is rather odd that the principle acted upon at Copenhagen, not being a new one with British ministers, should be so loudly protested against, as to produce a public statement, that "Great Britain has lost her moral rank among nations," it may be suspected that profit more than honour has induced this outcry.

Sir George Rumbold seized at Hamburgh.

While Mr. Pitt was courting the interests of the citizens of London, Bonaparte was employed with his generals. In Mr. Pitt's meeting nothing that we know of was produced, while, in what Bonaparte effected for his country, even a prejudiced person must acknowledge masterly genius, and a true patriot; he persuaded the Spaniards to cede Louisiana to the French, but aware that he could not prevent us from taking it, he sold it to the Americans.

We were not the less surprised to hear, that the French had seized and carried off Sir George Rumbold, the British charge d'affairs to the Hans Towns and the circle of Lower Saxony, at Hamburgh; he was taken to Paris, with his papers, and confined in the Temple; he was, however, soon liberated, and sent home by the King of Prussia. The English exclaimed against this violation of an ambassador on the part of the French, as an odious outrage on the law of nations.

The Dutch lost Surinam and other possessions; and the French squadron that sailed from Brest under Admiral Linois, were repulsed by a homeward bound fleet of East Indiamen. The account of this affair, sent by Commodore Dance to the Court of Directors, it is singular, was not contradicted by the French Government. Four ships were seen at day break on the 14th of February, when he made a signal for certain vessels to go and examine them; they proved to be enemies, a line-of-battle ship, three frigates and a brig joined them; they kept their course all day under easy sail, and towards evening the enemy were close up with their rear, when an attack was expected, but they hauled to windward; they were next morning about three miles off; the English fleet stood on their course, and the enemy bore down towards

The Pope arrives at Fontainebleau.

them; about mid-day they seemed inclined to endeavour to cut off the rear, when the signal was made to tack and bear down on them; the Royal George had the brunt of the action, and two other ships opened their fire as soon as it could be of effect; but before other ships could come up, the enemy hauled their wind and stood away with all sail they could set; they were pursued till evening, and as long as they could be distinguished were under a press of sail.

This was not to be passed over by the Patriotic Fund; great rewards were given to the different officers of the fleet; and the following day the Directors of the East India Company voted different sums to the commanders, officers, and seamen, "for their gallant conduct in beating off the French squadron under Admiral Linois, in the Chinese seas." The whole sum voted amounted to nearly £50,000; the value of the fleet preserved was said to be above eight millions sterling.

The Pope arrived at Fontainebleau, to the gratification of the people of Paris, to officiate at the coronation of the Emperor Napoleon in November. The Emperor was hunting at the time, and met him; they both alighted, and in the French fashion embraced each other; his Majesty's carriages then came up, Napoleon entered one, and placed the Pope on his right; they arrived at the castle through troops and the thunder of artillery; they were received at the bottom of the grand staircase by the great officers of the household, and his Holiness was led to the apartment prepared for him. After some little time he visited the Emperor and then the Empress; and her Majesty re-conducted him part of the way; the ministers and great officers of state were presented to him;

The Senate presented to the Emperor.

the Emperor repaired to his Holiness's closet at four, and they remained together alone about half an hour.

The Senate assembled in a body at eleven o'clock, at the palace of the Thuilleries; they were presented to the Emperor by Prince Joseph the Grand Elector, when his Excellency M. Francis de Neufchateau addressed his Majesty on his assumption of the title of Emperor; his Majesty answered that he ascended the throne to which he was called by the unanimous wish of the people, with a heart penetrated with the destinies of that people whom, from the midst of camps, he first saluted with the name of "Great;" his descendants shall long preserve the throne; they will be the first soldiers of the army, and sacrifice their lives in defence of their country.

His coronation was marked by the usual testimonies of public joy. Many in England were dissatisfied with it; but the cause of their mortification was to find that the Pope, being subservient to the French Emperor, the allies could not hope for his authority to further their designs.

The advantages we gained over our enemies were but few compared with the moral advantages of France; these were well explained in the French annual *Exposé*, delivered at the opening of the Legislative Body at Paris, by R. Champagny, the orator on the occasion.

He states the situation of France to be what it was in the calmest times; nothing alarms the public tranquillity; the Sovereign Pontiff travelled through France, from the Po to the Seine; he has been the object of a religious homage; the necessity of hereditary power has been long felt in France; the inheritance of the Imperial throne is fixed; every thing is arranged towards the future

Bonaparte writes to the King of England.

government of the people; the French have expressed their wish that the Imperial dignity should be hereditary in the descendants of Napoleon Bonaparte; in those of Joseph Bonaparte, and those of Louis Bonaparte. He then gives an account of the different public institutions and schools, which he states the great improvement of; and the public works carried on in France; their navy is in a better state than it has been for ten years; the armies in the best possible order, better disciplined, and better provided than ever. He gives a sketch of the situation of every state, who are all, except England, busy in improving their condition from the dreadful effects of the late wars; that France is fixed; strong in every point, she will cultivate the alliance of her friends; that England will arrive at pacific sentiments when she shall be satisfied of her impotence to agitate the continent, and when she shall be convinced, that France never will accept any other conditions than those of Amiens, and not consent to her breaking treaties at pleasure by keeping Malta; hatred and envy have but their day.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

THE beginning of the year 1805 was marked by the French Emperor in a striking way; he addressed a letter personally to his Britannic Majesty, lamenting the continuance of a

Lord Mulgrave replies to it.

war, in the course of which so much blood was shed without any object whatever ; he thought it, he said, not disgraceful to try and effect a reconciliation at a time which afforded a favourable opportunity to silence the passions and listen only to humanity and reason ; he reminded the British Monarch that his country was at the highest pitch of prosperity. War would not renew the internal troubles of France, destroy her finances, or deprive her of her colonies ; the French were happy ; agriculture supported their finances, and their colonies were but a secondary object ; besides, the King of England had more than he knew how to preserve. After a good deal of reasoning of a similar nature he concludes by remarking, that if his Majesty would but reflect, he would perceive the war has no object to him. The world is large enough for the two nations to exist in it ; and when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides much may soon be done ; he has, however, fulfilled a sacred duty, one precious to his heart.

To this feeling letter a cold answer was returned from Lord Mulgrave, secretary of state for foreign affairs, addressed to M. Talleyrand. He acknowledges the receipt of a letter by his Majesty from the head of the French Government ; that there is no object he has more at heart than to procure for his subjects a permanent and honourable peace ; but he must communicate with the powers on the continent whom he is engaged with, particularly the Emperor of Russia, who has given the strongest proofs of the interest he takes in the continent

But indefinite as was this answer, it was allowed here that the French Emperor's Letter had not that arrogant tone which marked the language of the French Government the year before ; in the early part of February, it

was communicated, with the answer to the French Legislative Body, by order of the Emperor; they were introduced by a speech, which shewed the French Government was not pleased with the answer they received; though nothing could be better founded. M. Segur, who presented these papers, would not admit that Russia, Austria, or Prussia, would go to war to gratify England: yet, if he was wrong in this, he was right in his conclusion, "that the hopes of England in a third coalition were vain and chimerical; and that France must display its energy, and triumph at last over the enemy to the liberty of the seas."

Yet, after these papers were made public, the French Government wished this overture to be considered as open, and that further discussions might take place when Russia was consulted. M. Talleyrand observed, that "Time would shew the secret resolutions of the English Government; were they just, the war would cease: but should it prove a false light, to answer particular purposes, then they should know what are the dispositions of the enemy; banish all hope, and trust to Providence and the genius of the Emperor." Time has evinced that these hopes of peace were unsubstantial, that the British Minister and the mercantile interest talked of peace, but wished for war; and that France has not trusted in vain to Providence or the genius of the Emperor.

It was observed with respect to Italy, that though Bonaparte, one of the most fortunate, if not the greatest character on which history ever dwelt, had assumed the title of Emperor of the Gauls, yet, respect for the Government so lately established in Italy, induced him to forego the personal sovereignty of that country. In the course of the present year, however, the iron crown of Charle-

Bonaparte crowned King of Italy.

magne was destined to circle his brows ; and when he was King of Italy his views were thrown on the northern provinces and the fertile island of Sicily. Solicitations were sent from all parts of Italy, entreating him to take upon himself and his heirs the Italian diadem. On the 25th of May he was crowned at Milan, with the greatest splendor and magnificence.

He was seated on a superb throne ; on his right the honours of the Empire, on his left the honours of Italy ; before him the honours of Charlemagne ; he was invested with the usual insignia of royalty by the Cardinal Archbishop, and ascending the altar, he took the iron crown, and placing it on his head, exclaimed, being part of the ceremony for enthroning the Lombard Kings, “ *Dieu me la donne, gare a qui la touche* ; God gives it me, beware those who touch it. The new constitution was communicated to the states ; the regal authority was placed solely in the person of Napoleon, with the privilege of naming his successor. The Monarch must hereafter reside within the Italian states, but while the present King retained the crown he might be represented by a Viceroy, who must reside within the Kingdom. The kingdom, after the death of Napoleon, must never be vested in the same person with that of the French empire. Prince Eugene Beauharnois, son of Madame Bonaparte, by her former husband, General Beauharnois, was appointed Viceroy. A new order of knighthood, that of the *Iron Crown*, was instituted, and the organization of the new kingdom was soon completed.

By causing himself to be crowned King of Italy, the French Emperor meant to strengthen his frontiers, and guard against his inveterate enemy, the King, or rather the Queen of Naples. He had now resolved to unite

Arrives at Paris, and goes to Boulogne.

Genoa to his own territory ; this also took place at Milan ; on the 4th of June, the Doge of Genoa, in a full meeting of the great officers of state, entreated the French Emperor to grant the Genoese the happiness of being his subjects. He returned a very long and gracious answer, in which he said, that he would realize their wish, and unite them to his great people ; they have only ports and a marine ; that they will find a flag which he will maintain on every sea, free from insult.

Having arranged all his weighty affairs, he left Italy, and arrived at Paris on the 12th of August, from whence he repaired without delay to Boulogne, to organize his army and flotilla for the invasion of England. His reception, the magnitude of the force assembled there, rendered it extremely interesting. The *Moniteur* gives a long account of the splendor of the scene, from which we will copy a part.

Seated on the throne of one of the Kings of the first race, the Emperor had on his right Prince Joseph, behind him the great officers of the crown ; the ministers, marshals of the empire, and colonels-general, on each side ; in front and on the steps were his Majesty's aide-du-camps ; and on benches at the foot of the throne were the counsellors of state, the generals from the interior on the right ; and on the left the civil and religious functionaries ; the space in the middle was occupied by the Imperial guard, and the musicians on one side, and 2000 drummers on the other ; at its extremities were the grand staff of the army, and the general staff officers of the camp. The Emperor saw on his right the two camps and the batteries, the entrance of the port, and part of the roads ; and on his left the port of Vimereux, and the coasts of England. In front of him advanced sixty battalions form-

The French threaten to invade England.

ed in twenty columns ; still nearer the throne were platoons of legionaries of all ranks ; the heights were occupied by twenty squadrons in battle array, and covered with an immense crowd of spectators, and the tents appointed for the ladies.

At noon the Emperor left his hut, and a salute from all the batteries of the coast announced his arrival ; on his appearance the drums began to beat, and shouts of joy from the army and spectators marked his presence ; the drums then beat a charge, and the different columns instantly closed their ranks.

All in their turn received the reward of honour from the hands of Bonaparte ; the decorations were held up by several officers in the helmets and bucklers of the armour of Dugueselin and Bayard.

The Emperor passed the evening in his hut, and all the legionaries were entertained at the tables of Prince Joseph ; the Minister at War, the Minister of Marine, Marshal Soult, and Admiral Bruix, in tents decorated in a military style, and the health of the Emperor was drank with enthusiasm amidst the report of all the artillery of the batteries on the coast.

It was now said that " England is threatened by 1500 vessels, which compose our flotilla, with sixty ships of the line, and a valiant army commanded by the first generals in the world." Neither did the French conceal their means for transporting 200,000 men over to England in the course of a night. Bonaparte was, however, very suddenly called away while he was at Boulogne ; instead of passing the Channel, to prepare for passing the Rhine, to which the Austrian troops were fast approaching.

A Treaty signed between England and Russia.

CHAPTER XCIX.

WE now transfer the camps from the sea to the banks of the Rhine, the Inn, and the Danube; from papers that appeared in 1804, from Austria and Russia, it was to be supposed that fresh efforts would be made to assist the English, and renew the war; a treaty was signed at Petersburg between his Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of Russia; the most speedy measures were to be employed to form a general league of the states of Europe, and to collect a force of 500,000 effective men, to be employed with energy; to make the French Government consent to the re-establishment of peace and the balance of Europe.

The objects proposed by this treaty were the evacuation of Hanover and the North of Germany.

The establishment of the independance of the republics of Holland and Switzerland.

The King of Sardinia to be established in Piedmont, with as large a territory as might be.

The security of the kingdom of Naples, and the evacuation of Italy, including the Island of Elba, by the French.

The security and independence of the different states of Europe; and a solid barrier raised against future usurpations.

His Britannic Majesty was to employ his forces by sea

and land, and vessels to assist the troops in the general plan; and to assist by subsidies, corresponding with the forces so employed. No power was to make peace with France, but with the common consent of those who should be parties to it.

Baron Novosilzoff was at Berlin on his way to Paris, when the news arrived of the annexation of Genoa to the French Empire. This put a stop to all proceedings short of hostilities; the Baron applied to his court for instructions, and was recalled.

This was looked on as a time for Austria to become a member of this new confederacy, and a treaty was signed at Petersburg to that effect.

The Austrian Ambassador at Paris presented a note, stating that the wish of his Government to further a general pacification had been interrupted by the differences in the state of the republics of Genoa and Lucca; he urged the renewal of measures of conciliation, and the Court of Vienna offered her earnest assistance; but to this M. Talleyrand replied, in a very proper manner; not because it refers to matters of diplomatic duplicity, but because the results, on the part of the Allies, are anticipated in that manner which has been the lot of almost every paper on the part of France from the beginning of the war.

M. Talleyrand, in his note to Count Philip Cobentzel, says, the Emperor is much affected by the amicable readiness shewn by the Emperor of Germany and Austria, to hasten the termination of the evils caused by the war to the French Empire; but he cannot forget how the Cabinets of London and Petersburg have very lately answered his noble behaviour; the Emperor has received for a twelvemonth past nothing but insults from Russia;

Remonstrances on the part of France.

but he will not expose himself to fresh injuries ; the Emperor Alexander must judge whether he will persist in the system urged by foreign influence, or return to wiser sentiments. Some months ago his Majesty made an attempt to incline England to peace ; but from the answer to the Cabinet of St. James's, there was no hope to be formed of peace, till it has lost every hope of setting the Continent in flames. Prussia has declared she will not enter into any hostile project against France ; let Austria do the same, and Britain will return to the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens ; then the Emperor of Germany will have a claim on the gratitude of the Emperor of the French, and will do more for himself than if he had gained ten battles against France ; for the immediate consequence of the peace would be to separate the crowns of France and Italy. His Majesty has only 50,000 men in Italy, 15,000 of which are at the extremity of the kingdom of Naples ; he sees his most important frontier exposed to danger, and cannot provide it with fresh troops without drawing from his army of the ocean, and Austria is therefore making a diversion in favour of England, as troublesome as an open war ; he urges Austria in the strongest manner to look well upon her conduct ; that if she declares she will remain neutral, a peace will be the desire and hope of England ; and it will be concluded before the month of January ; the crowns of France and Italy will be separated for ever. The Emperor of France could not proceed with more openness and sincerity than he has done ; and for the interest of Austria, and the glory of her Sovereign, he wishes the Emperor of Germany may avail himself of the opportunity now offered him ; the fate of Europe is in his hands. What suits Austria best is the preservation of a perfect neutrality,

Note of M. Talleyrand to Count Cobentzel.

the cessation of armaments, and in leaving no hope for England of bringing Austria over to her side.

A few days more made it appear to the French Government, that as all hopes of convincing the Austrian Emperor of his mistaken policy were vain, they should inform him, they were not ignorant of the force he was preparing, nor afraid of the consequences. M. Talleyrand, in another note, tells Count Cobentzel, that his Majesty hoped that Austria would observe the strictest neutrality; but that the movements of troops and other hostile dispositions, make him demand a speedy explanation. He is compelled to postpone his projects against England; and thus Austria had made a great diversion in favour of England. Austria has nearly 72,000 men in Italy, while France has not 50,000, and this determines him to suspend his projects. All the Austrian troops have quitted the garrisons they were in, and are in motion, marching in a direction which announces war; if Austria wants peace, every thing in Austria must be reduced to the peace establishment; if she desires war, his Majesty will flatter himself to obtain in a new war similar victories as in the preceding. His Majesty's dearest wish is peace with the German Emperor, and he hopes Count Cobentzel will hasten an answer, which his Majesty impatiently expects.

As Russia was a party in this new war, upon the groundwork of the aggrandizement of France in Germany and Italy; and as this was an outline in the Russian notes, the French Government replied to three suggestions. In answer to the note to the Court of Berlin by M. Novosiltzoff, the French complained of its being unseasonably published in the German journals; that the Emperor of the French had long observed in silence the progress of

The French Exposé.

Russia towards the south of Asia ; the states of the Grand Seignior are threatened ; all the provinces, chiefly those inhabited by the Greeks, are under the influence of Russian agents ; the Russian squadrons pervade the Ottoman seas, and carry arms and recruiting parties to their coasts ; Russia had demanded passports for a minister she never sent to Paris ; she demanded that one of her agents should be heard, and that agent was abruptly withdrawn.

The French Emperor did not stop here, his representations formed the basis of an Exposé, in which the infamy of the war was again imputed to England ; England, it was said, could not see the French colonies rise, as it were, from their ashes ; she wished to reduce the French flag to a state of degradation ; France had to defend the cause of Europe. The Emperor turned all his thoughts to the maritime war ; fleets were built, ports were excavated, camps were formed on the shores of the ocean ; the Emperor had assembled there all his forces, and they were preparing for new triumphs ; England saw the danger with which she was menaced ; assassins were thrown upon the coast of France, (alluding to the Royalists, said to have been landed the year before by Captain Wright, who being made prisoner, was detained in the Temple with great rigour) ; the Emperor offered peace on the same terms he had done before, but this seemed to augment the frenzy of the English Cabinet.

It was urged against Austria, that she did not pay the same observance to treaties as France ; that the debt of Venice was not discharged ; his Majesty's subjects of Milan and Mantua had thus felt a denial of justice, and the Court of Vienna had liquidated none of their demands ; as to the indemnities in Germany, Austria had been treated with great partiality ; yet she was far from being satis-

Bonaparte addresses the Senate.

fied; she employed arts and menaces to get from the petty Princes such possessions as suited her; thus she got Lindau, on the Lake of Constance, and the Isle of Menau, on the same lake, giving her one of the keys of Switzerland; she got Altkausen from the Teutonic Order, which made her mistress of the important port of Rhinau; she persisted to keep recruiting parties in Bavaria, Franconia, and Swabia; she had recognized the pretended right of blockade, which the English have dared to arrogate, according to which a simple declaration of the English Admiralty can interdict all the coasts of a vast empire. The Elector of Bavaria was summoned to join his army to that of Austria, and on refusal the Austrian army passed the Inn, and overran Bavaria in profound peace. All farther explanation with the Court of Vienna being now impossible, the appeal to arms is the only resource now left. The Emperor has been obliged to suspend the execution of his first intentions; he has withdrawn from the ocean his veteran bands, and marches at their head; he will not lay down his arms till he has a full and entire satisfaction.

His appeals did not rest here, when he met the Senate in Paris, he said, he felt it an urgent duty to appear among them, and tell them his sentiments. He is just, he says, leaving his capital, to put himself at the head of his army, and carry succours to his allies; the promises he has made to the French people he has fulfilled, and they have amply performed every engagement they made with him; they will persist in asserting the name of the Great People, which he greeted them with in the fields of death and glory; he concluded with, "Frenchmen! your Emperor will discharge his duty; my soldiers and the Senate will also discharge theirs." No monarch or general was ever

He joins his Army beyond the Rhine.

better seconded in the field than Napoleon was, both before and after he made this declaration. The English and their allies thought the French would have been disheartened at the prospect of a fresh war, and such a coalition as Great Britain, Sweden, Russia, and Austria, could not fail to present. We will notice hereafter some of the means which produced such a share of public spirit among the French people; the means we allude to are those that distinguish the statesman as well as the warrior.

The French army, about 140,000 men, made very rapid advances towards the scene of action; it moved in six divisions, and passed the Rhine in different places; on the 30th of September the park of artillery passed the Rhine at Kehl, and advanced towards Heilbrun. The main body being on the German side of the Rhine, the French Emperor issued a proclamation to the troops, in which he says, that the Austrians have passed the Inn, and driven their ally from his capital; that they have passed the Rhine, and will not again make peace without a sufficient guarantee; their Emperor is in the midst of them, they are only the advanced guard of a great people, who, if it were necessary, would all rise at his voice to dissolve this new league; they have much to do, but they will take no rest till they have planted their eagles on the territories of their enemies.

He crossed the Rhine at Kehl to join his army, and passed the night at Ettlingen, where he was visited by the Elector and Princess of Baden; the next day he went to Louisburgh, and took up his residence in the Prince of Wertemberg's palace. The different corps of the army marched the same day towards the Danube.

The Austrian army, near 90,000 strong, under Gene-

The Austrians defeated at Wertingen.

ral Mack, advanced to the defiles of the Black Forest, in order to prevent the French army from penetrating those defiles. Fortifications had been thrown up on the river Iller, but these precautions were of little avail, as the French army had taken another route, which the Austrians did not suspect, and were already in their rear. A division under Marshal Soult got possession of a bridge at Donawert, defended by the Austrian regiment of Colloredo, with the loss of only a few men. Murat arrived the next morning with the French cavalry, and having passed he caused the bridge to be repaired; when, with the rest of the cavalry under General Walcker, he passed it, and advanced towards the Lech, when he forced the enemy who were posted there to retreat. Murat continued that night at Rain; at Wertingen he encountered a body of the enemy's infantry, supported by four squadrons of cuirassiers; they were defeated, and a part of this portion of the Austrian army made prisoners, with their artillery and baggage. On this occasion the Austrians lost eight standards, all their cannon, a number of officers and 4000 men.

The different columns of the French army pushed on in the direction of Vienna. The French Emperor reviewed the troops, and stated his satisfaction with their behaviour at the affair of Wertingen; he bestowed marks of honour on two dragoons who had particularly distinguished themselves.

The action at Wertingen was followed by one at Guntzburg; Marshal Ney attacked the enemy, and succeeded in passing the river at Guntzburg, though gallantly resisted by the Austrians, who had advanced from Ulm to collect a force to act on the defensive. The Austrians had the bridges on the Danube; the French attacked them, but they

The Archduke Ferdinand retreats to Bohemia.

were defended with obstinacy. The Archduke Ferdinand made every effort to defend the post of Guntzburg, but was forced to retreat to Ulm with the loss of some thousands of men, and most of his cannon; the French suffered much from grape-shot, but got possession of a fine military position. By rapid movements the French army were now placed between Vienna and the Austrian General, Mack.

The French approached Ulm on all sides; the Austrians made a sortie, and attacked General Dupont's division; the battle was most obstinate; the Emperor went to the camp before Ulm, and Murat's and Marshal Lanne's corps moved to force the enemy's intrenchments before that city; it was a dreadful day; the troops were knee-deep in mud; the Emperor, it was said, had not his boots off for eight days.

During the night Prince Ferdinand marched off, leaving twelve battalions in the town and on the heights, which were all taken, with a quantity of cannon; it was stated in the bulletin of that day, that the French had made 20,000 prisoners, taken 30 pieces of cannon and 20 standards, with very little loss on their side. The Archduke Ferdinand, after other losses, at last effected his retreat with the wreck of his forces, mostly cavalry, to Bohemia.

Ulm was so completely invested, that General Mack could not escape but by endeavouring to force a passage through an army four times as numerous as his own; this was a bold attempt. Bonaparte expected greater resistance, as the evening before the surrender of the city he issued an address to his army, in which he tells them, that it is but a fortnight since they crossed the Rhine; the enemy's army, deceived by their rapidity, is completely turned, and only fights for its safety; but for the army now opposed to them they would have been in London

Ulm threatened by the French.

and avenged themselves for six centuries of insults ; the following day, he says, will be more celebrated than the day of Marengo ; the conduct of every one will be remarked ; merely to conquer is not enough ; not a man of the enemy's army should escape, and the government should first learn its catastrophe under the walls of Vienna.

The affair of Ulm cannot be told with more brevity than it is in the French bulletin, we shall therefore extract from a few of these documents.

The day of Ulm was a most brilliant one ; the Emperor might have taken the place by assault, but 20,000 men, defended by strong fortifications and wet ditches, would have made a resistance, and he wished to save blood. General Mack, commander in chief of the army was in the town. The Austrian army was one of the finest Austria ever had ; fourteen regiments of infantry of the army of Bavaria, as it is called ; thirteen regiments from the Tyrol, and five which were sent from Italy in wag-gons ; in all thirty-two regiments of infantry, and fifteen of cavalry.

As the Emperor was passing through a croud of prisoners, an Austrian colonel expressed his astonishment to see the Emperor of the French wet, covered with dirt, and as much fatigued as the meanest drummer in his army ; an aide-du-camp told him what the Austrian officer said, the Emperor ordered this answer to be made, " Your master wished to make me recollect that I was a soldier. I hope he will allow that the throne and the Imperial purple have not made me forget my first profession."

When the army occupied the heights which command Ulm, the Emperor sent for the Prince of Lichtenstein, who was shut up in the town, to communicate to him that he wished it would capitulate, saying, if he took it by storm, he must act as he did at Jaffa, where the whole

Ulm agrees to Articles of Capitulation.

garrison was put to the sword ; that he wished both he and the brave Austrian nation were spared the necessity of so dreadful an example ; that the place was not tenable, and ought to surrender. The Prince required that the officers and soldiers should have liberty to return to Austria : “ I will grant it,” said the Emperor, to the officers, “ but who will be my security that the men will not be made to serve again ? but,” added he, “ if Prince Ferdinand is in the town, I wish to give him a proof of my esteem, and will grant him what you require of me, hoping that the Court of Vienna will not break the word of one of its Princes.” On M. de Lichtenstein assuring him that Prince Ferdinand was not in the town, “ then,” said he, “ I do not see who is to be my guarantee.”

Ulm was forced to capitulate ; for General Mack did not deliberate long after the summons to surrender was sent him. He agreed to give up the city with all its artillery and magazines, and the garrison of near 30,000 men, after marching out with the honours of war, should lay down their arms ; the field-officers to return to Austria on their parole ; but the subalterns and soldiers to be sent to France till exchanged. General Mack was to be allowed the interval till twelve o'clock on the 25th, till when he was not required to carry the capitulation into effect. This was settled on the 17th, and if an Austrian or Russian army should arrive in force enough to raise the blockade of Ulm before midnight on the 25th, the garrison to be released from the terms of capitulation.

Anxious to lose no time, Bonaparte invited General Mack to an interview on the 19th, and on the assurance that no succour could possibly arrive, he signed an additional article, by which he agreed to evacuate the place, and surrender the army the next day, the 20th, on the

General Mack's Conduct blamed.

condition that the corps of Marshal Ney should not advance more than ten leagues from Ulm before the 25th, at midnight.

Either folly or villany must be laid to the charge of Mack, his conduct claims nothing better. The Austrian garrison marched the day following, and after passing the French Emperor, laid down their arms, and surrendered prisoners of war. Bonaparte, who had taken a proper place to see this operation, sent for General Mack and the other Austrian Generals, and told them their master waged an unjust war; that this army, on their way into France, will see the spirit which animates the people; he concluded by saying, he wanted nothing more on the Continent; he wanted ships, colonies, and commerce, and it was to their interest he should have them.

He treated these officers with great civility, and observed to them that the chances of war were various, and the conquerors might in turn be conquered.

The Emperor addressed his army from head-quarters at Elchingen, in which he tells them, that in a fortnight they have finished a campaign; they have expelled the troops of Austria from Bavaria; they have made 60,000 prisoners, who will take the place of their conscripts in the labours of the field; they owe their success to their confidence in their Emperor, their patience, and their singular intrepidity: but they will not stop there; the question is to be decided, whether the French infantry is the first or second in Europe. All his care shall be to be victorious with the least possible effusion of blood; his soldiers are his children.

The Austrians no more than the French were very tender of violating the Prussian territory when closely pressed. The tenth bulletin says,

Massena attacks the Archduke's Army.

“When General Werneck capitulated near Nordlingen, Prince Ferdinand, with 1000 cavalry, and some artillery, threw himself into the Prussian territory, and was pursued by Prince Murat, who overtook him, and an action took place on the evening of the 21st; the remainder of the park of artillery and all the baggage were taken; the horse chasseurs of the Imperial guard covered themselves with glory.”

Massena's army in Italy being strongly reinforced, had to oppose a well composed Austrian force, under a favourite commander. No time was to be lost; a combined force of Russians and British were assembled at Corfu and Malta to make a descent in Italy, while another army was ready in the North to invade Hanover. Massena prepared to force the passage of the Adige; he is said to have had 90,000 men. The Austrians supposed 75,000. The French pushed forwards over the bridge of Verona; the Austrians made a gallant resistance, but were compelled to retire to the heights; here the attack was renewed, and the French re-crossed the Adige and took up their former ground; they renewed the attack again on the 20th, and took the heights of Val Pantena; they met with serious resistance from the Austrians, who were at last driven with some loss.

Massena having received news of the surrender of Ulm, pressed forwards with great diligence, to do what had been intended for him; he attacked the Archduke's army, and the Austrians bravely resisted three successive attacks; but were at last obliged to retire; the action was again renewed, and both sides fought with much fury; but the Austrians were driven from the field with the loss of 3000 prisoners; a column of 5000 men was also completely cut off; General Hellinger, who commanded it,

Bonaparte arrives at Brannau.

was disposed to defend himself, and compelled a regiment sent against him to take shelter under the walls of a castle, but he was compelled to capitulate.

The Archduke, unable to resist the French in this quarter, and anxious to relieve Vienna, determined to make a retreat. General St. Cyr having evacuated the kingdom of Naples, reinforced Massena with 25,000 men. We will return to the Imperial arms on the road to Vienna.

The Emperor Napoleon, with a great part of his army, set out for Augsburg on his way to Bavaria; he reached Munich on the evening of the 24th, where Prince Murat joined him, and was received with great honours. While at Munich he arranged the disposition of the French army. He himself, with the main body, marched towards Vienna; Mortier secured his left; Marshal Ney his right. The French army passed the river Inn near Brannau; Marshal Bernadotte proceeded to Altingmarkt, where he found the bridge broken, and a strong fort opposed to him; but a corps of French and Bavarians crossed the river at Rotherheim; the enemy retreated, and both bridges were repaired.

The Austrians and Russians, finding themselves unable to make any opposition, retreated towards Vienna. All the citizens of that place able to bear arms, were embodied, and a proclamation issued, in which the Emperor of Austria "trusted in the justice of his cause, and in the love and energy of twenty-five millions of people, aided by his Russian auxiliaries."

Napoleon arrived at Brannau on the 30th; this was a place of great strength, with magazines of artillery, powder, and military stores; this was a seasonable supply to the French army. Prince Murat with his cavalry attacked the Austrian rear-guard, charged them, and forced

The Magistrates of Vienna wait on the Emperor.

them to give way; they rallied, but after an obstinate conflict were put to flight with great loss. The different generals of division took other places from the Austrians, whom they drove before them. Napoleon made arrangements for driving the enemy from the Ems, the last line of defence which remained between that river and Vienna, towards which place they slowly retired; the French army crossed this river, and eagerly pressed forwards towards the Austrian capital, which was in a state of great confusion. The Russians made a stand at Anstettin, but were obliged to quit the field with great loss; though praised by the English newspapers, they proved as weak as their allies when opposed to the military skill of the French.

An Austrian officer, Count Giulay, was sent to the French head-quarters, to try for a respite, under the idea of negociation; he proposed in the name of the Emperor of Germany and his allies, an armistice for a few weeks, as a preliminary step towards a general peace. Bonaparte was ready to agree to the armistice, if the Austrian monarch would cause the allies to return home, the Hungarian levy to be disbanded, and the duchy of Venice and the Tyrol to be occupied by the French army. The Count returned with this reply, and Bonaparte continued his plan of operations.

When the French Emperor had established his head-quarters at the celebrated Abbey of Moelk, some magistrates deputed from Vienna waited on him, imploring him to treat their city with lenity, as the inhabitants were not the occasion of the war; he replied they must open their gates only to the French army.

The Austrian Emperor set out on the 7th of November, with his Court, to Brunn, in Moravia; the bulk of the

Bonaparte enters Vienna.

people waited patiently for the French ; a change to them might be for the better. The French took possession of the Imperial capital of Vienna without firing a shot ; a national guard was formed by the most respectable inhabitants, under the French general, who was appointed Governor of the city ; and the public peace was not in the least disturbed.

The main body of the French arrived at Vienna on the 12th, and were lodged in the suburbs ; they conducted themselves in an orderly and quiet manner ; when they entered the city on the 13th, it was totally evacuated by the military, the inhabitants doing duty.

Murat marched the advanced guard through the city without halting, and passed the bridge over the Danube without resistance ; Prince Auersperg was stationed there to destroy it in case of necessity, and preparations for that purpose were made. Murat, aware of this, rode full up to that officer, and gave him his word of honour that an armistice was concluded ; by this he prevented the destruction of the bridge, which might have delayed the advance of the French.

Bonaparte entered Vienna on the 14th, and chose the Imperial palace of Shoenbrun for his residence.

A great quantity of military stores of all kinds, ammunition in abundance, and a number of pieces of artillery, were found in Vienna. Bonaparte gave the Elector of Bavaria 15,000 of the muskets found in the arsenal, and all the artillery taken formerly from that electorate. Large requisitions of cloth and wine were made, and Bonaparte received a deputation from the citizens, who, he assured them, might rely on his protection.

Having appointed General Clarke Governor of Upper and Lower Austria, he passed through Vienna, to join

The Emperor of Austria removes to Olmutz.

the army now marching into Moravia. The Russians were attacked and forced to retire; they, however, in turn attacked the French next morning, but were repulsed. General Mortier was severely wounded; the Russians had to regret the loss of General Smedt, acting as Quarter-Master General to the Russian army. He was much in the confidence of the Archduke Charles.

The French army advanced so rapidly that the Emperor of Austria and his Court removed from Brunn to Olmutz. Before his departure he issued another proclamation, in which he said, that the French Emperor's demands being inadmissible, and having refused an armistice, he must trust to the resources to be found in the strength and fidelity of his people; and to persist in his determination till the French Emperor should consent to honourable conditions.

Murat and Lannes came up with the Russian army at Holbrunn on the 15th; the French cavalry charged them, they abandoned their ground, and left some of their baggage behind. The Russian General, being hard pressed, and wanting a little time, had recourse to stratagem, in which he was authorised by the one used by the French in passing the bridge of Vienna; a flag of truce appeared at the French advanced posts, and the Baron Winzingarode, Aide-du-Camp to the Emperor of Russia, wished the Russians to capitulate and separate from the Austrians; this seemed too specious not to be listened to, and Murat communicated it to Bonaparte; it was soon suspected, and Bonaparte would not agree to the terms proposed, on the idea that the Russian was not properly authorised to treat; but if the Emperor of Russia would ratify the convention, he would do it.

During this time the Russians were preparing to re-

Proposals for a Negociation.

treat, but were attacked next day at Guntersdorff; the loss was considerable on both sides; the French entered Znaim, where the sick of the Russian army were left to their fate. Prince Murat entered Brunn, a regular fortress, well supplied.

Bonaparte removed to Brunn on the 20th, and received the bishop, with a deputation from the states of Moravia. Six thousand stand of arms and much ammunition were found in the citadel.

The French, on their advance from Brunn to Olmutz, were attempted to be stopped by the Russians, who had 6000 cavalry; they kept their ground all day, but gave way at night.

The French army remained some days at Brunn; they then advanced near Wishnau in front of the allied army, who were between that and Olmutz, on the spot where they were defeated in the battle of Austerlitz.

The armies of France and those of the Allies were said to have been nearly equal in point of numbers; the French, say the Allies, had 105,000 men. These two armies were in presence of each other, and both resolved to make a stand. The Austrian Counts Stadion and Giulay were commissioned by the Emperor of Germany to open a negociation. The Prussian minister, Count Haugwitz, offered his Sovereign's mediation, who, it was believed, was much inclined against France. Napoleon seemed to listen to them, but, it appeared, only with the idea of putting the Allies off their guard. Some of the French advanced posts were attacked by the Russians, near Wishnau, and compelled to fall back.

Bonaparte despatched General Savary, one of his aides-du-camp, to compliment the Emperor Alexander, who had advanced to that place; but the French bulletins will

Loss of the Russians in the Battle of Friedland.

explain these particulars, as well as those of the ensuing battle; no one who aims at impartiality need be fearful of quoting such authorities; the particulars of the Russian loss in the battle of Friedland, as stated in the French bulletins, were confirmed by Lord Hutchinson in the House of Lords, where he stated that their loss in the battle of Friedland was 40,000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners; 1800 officers, and 27 generals; these were the exact numbers stated in the French accounts, and as they have been acknowledged on a latter occasion, they cannot be questioned on a former; their account of the dreadful battle of Austerlitz was given in the bulletins nearly as follows:—

The Emperor, on receiving the full power of M. Stadion and De Giulay, offered an armistice to spare blood, if there were any intention of a definitive accommodation; but he perceived that the negotiations were only a plan to lull his vigilance to sleep. The Emperor of Russia repaired to Wishau, and the Russian army took a position behind that city. The Emperor sent his aide-du-camp, General Savary, to pay his respects to the Emperor of Russia, when he knew of his arrival in the army. When General Savary returned, he spoke in warm terms of the handsome reception, and the personal sentiments of the Emperor of Russia, and of the Grand Duke Constantine, who was very attentive to him: but it could be easily seen, from the conversation he had for three days with some thirty coxcombs, under different titles, about the Emperor of Russia, that as much imprudence reigned in the decisions of the military cabinets, as was the case in the political; conducted thus, an army could not avoid faults. The Emperor planned to wait for them; he ordered his army to retreat in the night as if defeated, took

The Emperor of France visits his Posts.

up a position three leagues in the rear, and laboured to fortify it.

He proposed an interview to the Emperor of Russia, who sent him his aide-du-camp, Prince Dolgorucki; every thing shewed the Russian officer an army half beaten; the Emperor, contrary to his custom, went himself to the advanced posts; the Russian talked freely of every thing; he spoke to the Emperor as he does to the Russian officers, whom he has long disgusted; the Emperor checked his indignation, and he returned with a certain idea that the French army was on the eve of ruin; the young men that direct the Russian affairs, gave themselves up to their natural presumption. What the French had done was through the cowardice of the Austrians. Several Austrian generals, who had made campaigns against the Emperor, warned them that they should not march so confidently against old officers of merit, and good soldiers; but the presumptuous young men opposed the bravery of 80,000 Russians, the picked corps of the Imperial guard of Russia.

The Russian army, on the 1st of December, made a movement to turn the French right; the Emperor saw how they were misled; he said, before to-morrow night that army shall be in my power. The enemy, however, thought differently; as they passed the line of the French army, they only feared the French should escape; all confirmed them in this idea. At night the Emperor wished to visit the posts *incog*. but he was soon recognized; the enthusiasm of the men was immense; he was saluted with acclamations; a grenadier went up to him, and told him not to expose himself; that to-morrow they would bring him the colours and artillery of the Russian army, to celebrate the anniversary of his coronation; when the

Battle of Austerlitz.

Emperor returned to his grand house, which was a miserable straw cabin without a roof, made by the grenadiers; he regretted to think that he should lose many of those brave fellows.

His dispositions for battle were made, and the different general officers posted in their proper places.

The Emperor, with Marshal Berthier, his first aide-du-camp, Colonel Junot, and his *etat-major*, was in reserve, with ten battalions of his guard and ten battalions of grenadiers, with forty pieces of cannon; this he meant to push forward wherever it was necessary. At one in the morning he mounted to visit the posts, and learn the movements of the Russians; he heard that they had spent the night in noise and drunkenness. Day dawned, the sun rose bright, and the day was very fine. The battle, which the soldiers called, 'The day of the three Emperors,' and which the Emperor named 'The Battle of Austerlitz,' will be ever memorable in the annals of the Great Nation. The attack was begun by the Russians; a dreadful cannonade took place along the line; 200 pieces of cannon, and near 200,000 men, made a dreadful noise; in less than an hour the Russian left was cut off; innumerable acts of bravery were performed; a body of Russians were driven into a lake near the place; their loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was immense; the French say they had but 800 killed, and 15 or 1600 wounded; this, however, we should be inclined to think an error, from the immense loss of the Russians; several French Generals were wounded, among them Sebastiani; there were 80,000 Russians and 25,000 Austrians, and the French say, that half of that number was destroyed; and many threw away their arms.

The whole of the disasters that fell on the allied armies

Armistice between the French, Russians, and Austrians.

were by the French laid to the charge of the English; England was blamed as the cause of all the miseries that happened, though she, of course, knew nothing of them.

The 31st bulletin was read at the theatre by one of the performers: it stated, that the day after the battle of Austerlitz, the Emperor of Austria visited the French Emperor at the out-posts; he wished to include the Emperor of Russia in an armistice, which was at length acceded to; General Savary was sent to him to arrange all matters; the Emperor expressed his surprise at the great success of Bonaparte, and called him a great warrior.

An armistice was concluded between the three powers, which was to commence on the 4th of December, at day-break; but the French army was not apprised of it soon enough to prevent the hostile movements of the 4th. The two Emperors of Germany and France met in the open air, near a mill; their conference lasted for some time, and in the evening the Emperor Francis despatched an Austrian general with the result to the Emperor Alexander; and General Savary was appointed to attend him. They were received with much politeness, and the subject of the armistice was entered into; the French to keep possession of its conquests till a definitive peace; the Russian army to evacuate the Austrian states, Moravia and Hungary, within fifteen days. This agreement made the Russian army commence its retreat on the 6th of December, under unfavourable circumstances, while in England they were represented as victorious, and the French defeated.

The Archduke Ferdinand, with 20,000 men, was still left entire in Bohemia; before news reached him of the armistice, he had attacked the Bavarians under General

The Archduke Charles continues his Retreat.

Wrede, and was advancing rapidly in the rear of the French army. The Archduke Charles appeared within a day's march of Vienna, on the right bank of the Danube; and it was said, that if the Emperor Francis had not so soon concluded a treaty with the French, matters might have taken a favourable turn.

It was admitted generally that the battle of Austerlitz had confounded all speculation; no talents, power, or combination opposed to Bonaparte checked his progress, but swelled his career with fresh victories; his wisdom in council, greatness of enterprise, and promptness in action, put it almost beyond the reach of credibility that he should have a reverse of fortune.

CHAPTER C.

THE Archduke Charles determined to make good his retreat to Germany; he proceeded towards Hungary, though constantly annoyed by the enemy's light troops.

The French arrived at the Brenta just after the Austrians had passed that river, and were destroying the bridge; a cannonade begun, and the French could not cross till next morning.

As Bavaria had joined the French, it was not to be wondered at to see the Elector of Wertemberg do the same; his territory being so near to France, was a very

The Swedes march to assist England.

good apology. Something better, however, might have been hoped from Prussia; from her first dividing from the confederacy against republican France, she kept a cautious but close neutrality; she saw the troubles of Austria with pleasure; all the efforts of the ministers of Austria, Russia, and England at the court of Berlin, could do no more than make her put her troops on the war establishment, or rather adopt a sort of armed neutrality. The Emperor Alexander at last arrived at Berlin; he was received with every splendor and attention, but was obliged to return disappointed to his army, then marching to the aid of Austria. But Prussia was to blame in another respect; his example was hurtful in the extreme. Sweden was very different; a large body of Swedes marched to the banks of Elbe, and occupied the duchy of Lunenburg, &c. waiting for a body of English troops to effect the freedom of their king's German dominions from the French yoke, which pressed upon them; much delay was occasioned, and the victory of Austerlitz put an end to it; the Swedes were marched back to Pomerania, and the English and German troops embarked for England, leaving Hanover again in the power of the enemy. The King of Sweden had defied the power of Bonaparte through his minister at Ratisbon. Great Britain had agreed with him for a subsidy, which was to be advanced to the amount of 60,000*l.* if a depôt of Hanoverian troops were formed in Swedish Pomerania; and if hostilities commenced against France, the Swedish troops to be taken into the pay of Great Britain.

Bonaparte soon saw through these measures, and applied to the Court of Berlin, to prevent Pomerania being occupied by the Hanoverians. To a note from the King of Prussia, the King of Sweden replied in terms of indig-

A large French Fleet at Sea.

nation, and said he would act as he thought proper, without referring to any power whatever. Another division of British troops landed in Naples, where they lay the remainder of the campaign of no service at all. In the month of September the King of Naples had concluded a treaty of neutrality with the French Emperor, and the French troops were withdrawn. This, however, the French Emperor never forgave.

The French papers stated, that Captain Wright, confined in the Temple, cut his throat with a razor; doubts arose as to his death; but it is not to be supposed that the French would treat him like another prisoner, imagining him to have landed a gang of assassins on the coast.

Information was received that Admiral Villeneuve had put to sea again; he proceeded to Cadiz, and from thence to the West Indies, with eighteen sail of the line, and several smaller vessels; this excited much alarm at home. Lord Nelson, after some search and deliberation, took the resolution of pursuing them to the West-Indies, with little more than half their strength: he anchored at Barbadoes on the 4th of June, and learned that Villeneuve had arrived at Martinique some time previous, and had carried the Diamond Rock. His Lordship being joined by two sail of the line visited several Islands in search of them, but without effect. He returned to Europe without any news of them.

The first Rochefort squadron that escaped in March, laid the islands of Dominica and St. Kitt's under contribution. Lord Nelson was still in search of the French fleet, but not meeting with them he sailed for Portsmouth, and arrived in London, where he was received with the greatest approbation by all ranks. In the mean time Villeneuve, whose fleet was increased to twenty sail, fell in

Lord Collingwood's Despatches on the Battle of Trafalgar.

with Sir Robert Calder, near Cadiz; Sir Robert had fifteen sail, and he commenced an action which lasted four hours, when two of the enemy's ships struck; after several manœuvres the enemy bore away next morning. England was much disappointed; Sir Robert returned to England to demand an investigation of his conduct. The Court acquitted him of fear or cowardice, but reprimanded him severely for an error in judgment.

News having arrived of the French fleet, Lord Nelson set off from London, and put to sea the following day. On his arrival off Cadiz he took the command of the fleet under Lord Collingwood, which was of great service to him, in putting him on an equality. Lord Nelson openly detached Admiral Louis and six ships of the line on a particular service, which the enemy knew, and Admiral Villeneuve seeing the English fleet reduced to twenty-one sail of the line resolved to make an effort to humble the pride of Britain. We will extract an account from the London Gazette of the event of the 21st of October 1805.

Lord Collingwood, in his despatches, states that the ever to be lamented death of Lord Nelson leaves him the duty of stating the transactions of the day. The enemy was discovered at day-light on the 21st, near Cape Trafalgar, consisting of thirty-three ships, eighteen French and fifteen Spanish; the order of battle having been previously arranged, the action began at twelve o'clock, and ceased about three, leaving to his Majesty's squadron nineteen ships of the line, two first rates, with three admiral's flags. The Royal Sovereign lost her masts, and he called the Euryalus, to which he shifted his flag; when he made the signal to anchor, few of the ships had one to let go, their cables being shot. The wind shifted during

Total Defeat of the Combined Fleet.

the night, and drifted the ships off the land, and he hopes this action will prove of public benefit to the country.

His Lordship then issued an order, thanking the officers and men for their gallant conduct, and appointed a day for a general fast and thanksgiving. In a subsequent letter, dated off Cadiz, the 24th, he states the weather to have been dreadful; so bad, that the ships could not live; he therefore resolved on destroying such as were not sea-worthy, which he does. He took Admiral Ville-neuve into his ship, and when he could spare a frigate he would collect the flag-officers, and send them to England with their flags, to be laid at his Majesty's feet, if they did not go to the bottom.

Sir Richard Strachan fell in with and took the four French vessels that escaped from Trafalgar. Admiral Collingwood sent a despatch, with the particulars of the manner the combined fleet was disposed of. It appears they consisted at first of thirty-three sail, of which sixteen were sunk and destroyed, and four sent to Gibraltar; nine had got into Cadiz, six of which were wrecks, and four escaped to the southward, which were those afterwards taken by Sir Richard Strachan.

The defeat of this fleet must have been a dreadful mortification to Bonaparte, just after he had stated, that he wanted only ships, colonies, and commerce. It served the British Ministers, and their characters were raised in some proportion with the Hero they had employed.

The wife of Jerome Bonaparte arrived in England; she was a Miss Paterson, whom he married in America, when the 74 gun ship, which he commanded, took refuge in an American port. He sailed in a neutral vessel from Baltimore, and landed at Lisbon. He set off to Paris, desiring the vessel to proceed to Amsterdam, from whence

Peace between France and Austria.

he intended his wife should follow him, when he had leave from his brother ; but she was not allowed to go on shore, and being pregnant, she thought it right to trust herself among the English ; her brother and a female relation, with a French physician, accompanied her, who landed at Dover. She remained in England during the summer, and arrived at Baltimore in the November following.

The Archduke Charles met the Emperor of the French near Vienna, and the terms of peace between France and Austria were adjusted ; peace was signed a few days afterwards at Presburg. The French Emperor entered Munich soon after, on his return to Paris. The Elector of Bavaria took the title of King, as did also the Duke of Wertemberg, for his strict adherence to the cause of France. The efforts of England ended in a mission to the Court of Berlin, and the Grand Duke Constantine arrived at the Prussian capital. An expedition was planned by the British to the North of Germany, of which we shall speak a little more hereafter. The crooked policy of Prussia brought both itself and the Elector of Hesse to his ruin. Saxony owed its safety more to the clemency of the conqueror than the probity of the Prussian Monarch.

The Electors of Wertemberg and Bavaria were crowned as Kings, with a great increase of territory at the expense of the House of Austria. Prince Eugene Beauharnois, son of the Empress by her first husband, (who was guillotined under Robespierre,) was married to the Princess of Bavaria, daughter to the new King. A daughter of the King of England was also raised to the dignity of Queen of Wertemberg.

A vote having passed the Parliament for funeral

Death of Mr. Pitt.

honours on the remains of Lord Nelson, it took place on the 9th of January. The body had lain in state at Greenwich Hospital, and was removed to the Admiralty. The Hero was attended by heroes to his grave, together with the seven sons of his Sovereign, the chief nobility and gentry, bodies of troops, some seamen, and immense multitudes of people.

The death of another great man soon followed, that of Mr. Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the forty-seventh year of his age. It was said of him, and justly, that he was a man of firm purpose, upright principle, and honourable pride. Though he had his errors, he was a truly great man; he died, however, on a pillow of thorns.

Mr. Pitt's death opened the way for Mr. Fox's return to office. Lord Grenville was ordered by the King to form a new administration, which gave much satisfaction, though it was a work of difficulty.

Mr. Pitt's funeral took place on the 22d of February; it was very grand, and most respectfully attended, but was too close after Lord Nelson's to cause that general attention which otherwise would have been paid it.

CHAPTER CI.

BONAPARTE did not let his vengeance sleep against Naples; a French bulletin declared that the Queen of Naples

The Queen of Naples ceases to reign.

had ceased to reign ; she having received the English troops with the greatest cordiality. It also stated that General St. Cyr was hastily advancing to Naples, to punish the treason of the Queen. When any endeavour was made to intercede for her with the Emperor, he declared she had ceased to reign, and her destiny was completed.

The Emperor issued a proclamation to his army, defending his conduct against Naples ; he stated his kind attention to that power, and that three times he forgave it ; but that he would not do so the fourth ; the Neapolitan dynasty has ceased to reign ; his brother, he tells them, will lead them on, who has all his confidence.

The Russian Emperor also published a state paper, in order, as it would seem, to apologize for his retreat ; he simply states that he came as a friend to Austria, and to avert those dangers which threatened his empire, but that he has concluded a convention with France ; and as he deems the Russian troops no longer necessary in Austria, he has ordered them to return to Russia. He took leave of his Imperial Majesty of Austria, and proceeded on his return to St. Petersburg.

A proclamation was issued at Hanover in February, announcing his Prussian Majesty's determination to take his Britannic Majesty's German dominions to himself ; this was followed by shutting up the Elbe and Weser. This produced a great sensation in England, and his Majesty published a declaration in answer ; he recapitulates the principal occurrences which have taken place, and the different friendly acts of the Prussian Government, which, however, were merely as a blind ; and he concludes by protesting most solemnly against any in-

War between Prussia and Sweden.

incroachments on his territory of Brunswick Lunenburgh, and its dependencies.

The death of the Marquis Cornwallis took place in India in October. He was going by water to take the command of the army, but being taken ill, he was put on shore, and expired at Ghagepoare.

In consequence of what was stated in the *Moniteur* of the dignity and accomplishments of our Sovereign's daughter, when Napoleon returned from Wertemberg, the English prisoners wrote to her to intercede for their liberation; but, in a polite note, she said it would be of no use, and she therefore declined it, however much she wished to serve them.

The French Emperor was daily strengthening his influence. His brother Joseph was proclaimed King of Naples; Murat invested with the duchies of Cleves and Berg; the Sovereignty of Neufchatel was transferred to Marshal Berthier, and the principality of Guastella to the Princess Paulina, and her spouse the Prince of Borghese; the French troops took possession of Dalmatia, and Austria was in a manner thus hemmed in by her natural enemy.

A long Exposé was published in Paris of the state of the French Empire, and of public affairs in général, in which, of course, every thing was represented in favour of France.

The Marengo, of 80 guns, and Bellepoule, of 40, were taken on their return from the East Indies, where they had done much mischief to the British commerce.

A war took place between Prussia and Sweden; Swedish troops had guarded the Electorate of Hanover; but after a few men had been killed, the Swedes retreated towards Pomerania. The King of Sweden published a

Louis Bonaparte made King of Holland.

declaration, throwing all the blame on Prussia; the people of that country were not satisfied; they attacked the minister; broke the windows of Count Haugwitz's house three times successively; at last the military were called out to prevent these outrages being repeated.

Louis Bonaparte was raised to be King of Holland; the situation was new, and the Dutch having no remedy, submitted to it without a murmur. He took possession with very little ceremony, the Dutchmen refilled their pipes, and all went on as before.

Louis did not forget what he promised them in a short proclamation, which he addressed to them on his being appointed; indeed it is said, that he is beloved there for his affability and condescension.

The *Moniteur* of the 3d of June contains a long article on the then state of Europe; it is violent against England, and says, that armies purely English, have never made themselves conspicuous on the continent; the Duke of York, it says, it is true, had an English army before Dunkirk, but the battle of Hondschoote followed; and he commanded an army entirely English when he landed in Holland, but the retreat of Alkmaar did not equal that of the *ten thousand*; the English also landed in Naples, but it was to overturn the throne; they appeared too in Hanover, but they re-embarked through the assistance of the King of Prussia.

There is some truth in these remarks, but there are still errors. M. Doubril, at Paris, negociated a treaty of Peace, which the Emperor Alexander would not ratify. The British ministry were not alarmed at this treaty; they said the reason was that it did not include England in the negociation, and they were right. But many thought this only done to gain time, till Prussia should

Battle of Maida.

join the coalition, and Russia be ready to support him.

Gaeta, in the kingdom of Naples, though stiled an insignificant fortress in the *Moniteur*, was yet a great annoyance to the new King, Joseph. The Prince of Hesse Philipsthal, who commanded, would not obey the summons of General Regnier to surrender. The valour with which it was defended increased the satisfaction of all the enemies of France. A most formidable train of battering cannon and mortars were employed against it, but it was some months before it surrendered, and the loss of the French was very great. The Prince, though wounded, escaped to Sicily.

The people of Naples were by no means affected to their new sovereign; the Calabrians, in particular, were averse to the new order of things. General Stuart embarked from Sicily with 5000 men, and landed on the opposite shore. General Regnier marched his troops to meet the English. On the 4th of July General Stuart approached this French force; the fronts were warmly engaged about nine in the morning; a few rounds were fired by both armies at about a hundred yards distance, when both parties advanced till their bayonets met; then the enemy's courage forsook them, they endeavoured to fly, but it was too late; a most dreadful slaughter took place; the place was covered with the dead and wounded; 700 of the former were buried on the spot; near a 1000 were wounded; while the loss of the English was, comparatively speaking, nothing.

The French Government never published any account of this affair, called the Battle of Maida. General Stuart re-embarked soon after for Sicily, and no advantage was

Another French Squadron in the West Indies.

gained by it, save the impression of the discipline and valour of British soldiers.

A French squadron was discovered in St. Domingo by Admiral Duckworth, which he brought to action; though inferior in numbers, they fought bravely for two hours; their commander ran his ship on shore, in which he was followed by another; three others struck, and were taken possession of; the English afterwards burnt the two on shore.

Another squadron, under Admiral Guillamez, with Prince Jerome on board, did much mischief in the West Indies. A tremendous gale separated them, the Admiral with difficulty made the Havannah; one ran into the Bay of Chesapeake, where she ran on shore, and was burnt by the *Melampus*; two were destroyed by the English on the same coast, and the *Castor* was believed to have foundered at sea. Prince Jerome, with the usual fortune of his family, arrived in the *Veteran* at l'Orient in August.

The next news was the capture of the Cape of Good Hope by the English; but this, in a measure, was checked by the failure of the expedition against Buenos Ayres.

Mr. Fox communicated to M. Talleyrand a statement of a project for assassinating the French Emperor, which had been disclosed to him by a foreigner; and after stating his feelings on the subject, he said he would not send the prisoner away till there was time to guard against him, and then it would be as far as possible from France. M. Talleyrand, in a respectful reply to this letter, introduces an extract from the Emperor's speech to the Legislative Body, stating his wish for peace with England without

Lord Yarmouth employed as a Diplomatic Agent.

delays. Mr. Fox replied, that he had shewn the King that part of his private letter; and stated the wishes of the British Cabinet to have a peace, honourable for themselves and their allies, which would secure the repose of Europe, but he would do nothing without consulting the Emperor Alexander.

M. Talleyrand, in reply said, he was authorised by his Sovereign to declare, that France was only desirous of repose; that the Emperor adopted the principle of an honourable peace for both parties and their allies; that he was ready to make every proper concession, and reasonably expected the same; but did not see the necessity of calling in a distant power to the discussion of their interests.

Lord Yarmouth, who was one of those detained in France, went from Verdun to Paris, at the request of the French Government, and was invested with powers as a diplomatic agent; he had many interviews with the French minister. Mr. Fox made it a point of honour that Hanover should be restored, as a prelude, and it was even conceded that Hanover should make no difficulty: As to Sicily, Talleyrand replied, you have it, and we do not demand it from you.

M. d'Oubril, the Russian envoy, arrived during this time, at Paris, and concluded a separate peace. Lord Lauderdale was appointed with Lord Yarmouth. After much explanation, however, the business was done away, and the English plenipotentiaries demanded their passports. When the news of the rupture of the negociation was known in London, it was hailed on the Stock Exchange with the rudest shouts of joy. The drivers of the mail-coaches were sent into the country with bunches of ribbands in their hats, containing the words, "No Peace."

Declaration of the Court of Prussia.

Lord Yarmouth, however, on his return, declared we might have made an honourable peace with the French Emperor.

The King of Prussia was much irritated at the idea of parting with Hanover. French troops were continued in Hesse, and watched with no small jealousy by the King of Prussia. The tone of the Prussian Court was that of firmness; the troops were animated with high enthusiasm, and the people were in unison with them; several regiments were proposed to be raised and maintained. Prussian vessels were speedily liberated from the English ports; and, in idea, the armies of Russia, Prussia, and Sweden, were all seen to bear upon the legions of France. The French Emperor quitted his capital to join the armies on the 24th of September.

CHAPTER CII.

A DECLARATION, stating the grounds of the war, was published by the Prussian Court; it is very long, and was answered in the *Moniteur*. It states the different occurrences that took place in the Prussian Government, and dwells much on its occupation of Hanover. France defends its marching her troops over the neutral territory of Anspach, as nothing else was done, whereas Austria raised contributions in Bavaria, and other circumstances of a like nature, none of which were done by France in Anspach; on this Prussia resolves to make war, and has nothing personal to allege, but this. There was

much moderation in the answer of France. Prussia seemed indifferent as to support from other powers.

The French army assembled in Franconia in three divisions. The Prussian army had a very strong position to the north of Frankfort on the Main. The campaign opened with an affair at Schleitz, where the Prussians lost several hundred men, and 500 baggage waggons.

It was remarked, that a retreat of sixty miles, which left all Saxony open, was an unlucky beginning; there were other reports, but the arrival of the French bulletins ended the illusion; they stated particulars of the negotiation General Knobelsdorf was entrusted with at Paris; that the Emperor Napoleon arrived at Bamberg on the 6th of October, on which day the Prussian hussars fired at a French officer in view of both armies.

Talleyrand sent the Emperor two despatches, one a letter from the King of Prussia of twenty pages, which was nothing but complaints against France; this was accompanied by a note from M. de Knobelsdorf. The Emperor said to Berthier, that they had got a rendezvous for the 8th; and as a handsome Queen was there, he would be polite, and march for Saxony. The Queen of Prussia was with the army, in the uniform of her own regiment of dragoons.

The Emperor set out from Bamberg on the 8th of October, and was next day at the action of Schleitz. Prince Louis of Prussia was killed, and two of his aide-du-camps close by him.

The 4th bulletin observed, that the Prussian army was taken by surprise, its magazines carried off, and itself turned; and that the French had gained three marches on them.

The Battle of Jena—Defeat of the Prussians.

The 5th bulletin gives a long account of the battle of Jena, where the Emperor came on the evening of the 13th, and reconnoitred so as to attack the next day. The battle was fought with great fury, but the French were successful; they took no less than 30 to 40,000 prisoners of war, 300 pieces of cannon, and immense magazines and quantities of provisions. It is said there were upwards of 20,000 killed and wounded, including several general officers; among the former was the Duke of Brunswick, and Prince Henry of Prussia among the latter. The French likewise lost a number of officers of rank. This victory was decisive; 6000 Saxons, and more than 300 officers, were taken prisoners; the Emperor Napoleon assembled the officers, and told them he made war on them with reluctance; that he intended to send them all home, if they would give their parole not to serve against France; he addressed two proclamations, one to his own army, the other to the Saxons. The one to his army was before the battle, and encouraged them by repeating their former exploits; he tells them that the friendship of the Great Nation is of the mildest nature, but her enmity more terrible than the tempest of the ocean. To the Saxons he says, he enters their country as their deliverer; they are called on to shed their blood against their own interest; the Prussians, he says, have used every art against their Prince and them; but he advises them to return home, and not suffer their country to be degraded into a Prussian province.

The 7th bulletin says, that the King of Prussia sent an answer to what his Imperial Majesty wrote to him before the battle of Jena. The Emperor told him, that the success of his arms was not doubtful, he will do all that he

Great Confusion in Berlin.

can to spare blood, as, excepting honour, nothing was so dear to him as that of his soldiers.

The succeeding bulletins are filled with accounts of the French successes. The King of Prussia demanded an armistice for six weeks. Marshal Soult arrived at Greussen in pursuit of the column where the King was, when General Kalkreuth, who commanded, caused it to be notified to him that an armistice had been concluded ; this, the Marshal said, was an error, and he would not believe it, unless announced officially. The two generals had a meeting, and as soon as they had separated, hostilities commenced, and the Prussians were routed.

The 11th Bulletin states the defeat of the Prince of Wirtemberg ; 5000 prisoners were made on that occasion. Nothing, it was said, more resembled the present state of the Prussian army than a shipwreck ; of 160,000 men, whom the King of Prussia had, it would be difficult to unite more than 50,000, and these without artillery and baggage.

The confusion in Berlin was extreme ; all cry out against the Queen. The Sovereign of Saxony has thanked the Emperor for his generosity. The Queen was always to be found at the head-quarters at Weimar ; at last they were forced to tell her, that on the morrow great events for the Prussian monarchy might occur.

The Emperor Napoleon wrote to the King of Prussia a letter, which he sent by M. de Montesquieu, in which he tells him he will use the same language to him he did to the Emperor Alexander, before the battle of Austerlitz ; he has been his friend these six years, and would have granted any thing in his power ; he entreats him to decline the war, which cannot do him any good ; and bring nothing but blood and slaughter on him ; that he sets no value on a victory purchased by the lives of his

Napoleon arrives at Potzdam.

children ; he urges him to dismiss his evil advisers, or to make them keep that silence with respect due to his throne ; that he is anxious to spare blood, and begs his Majesty to see in his letter, the desire he has to do so.

He arrived at Potzdam on the 25th, and viewed the new palace of Sans Souci ; he staid some time in the chamber of Frederick the Great, which was the same as at his decease. The remains of this great man were said to be enclosed in a wooden coffin covered with copper, in a vault, without any ornaments to recall the memory of his heroic actions ; his sword was easily found at Potzdam, with the scarf he wore, and the insignia of the Black Eagle ; these the Emperor took with transport, and said he would rather have them than twenty millions ; then, after a short pause, he said he would present them to the Governor of the Invalids, and there they should remain. He held a kind of court day at Berlin the 28th of October, and received a great many people. Prince Hatzpebat coming into the room, the Emperor told him to retire to his estate, he did not want his services ; his wife hearing this threat, and that he was arrested, threw herself at the Emperor's feet, and endeavoured to excuse her husband. The Emperor, however, produced some papers written in the Prince's own hand, and told her to judge. She was eight months gone with child, and this proof quite overcame her. He felt for her situation, and told her as she had the paper to throw it in the fire, and this once destroyed, he could not get her husband condemned ; she did so instantly ; he was set at liberty ; in three hours he would have been shot.

The French having determined to march to Warsaw, General Dombrowski published a proclamation to the Poles ; he tells them that Napoleon, the invincible, enters

Hamburgh occupied by the French.

Poland with an army of 300,000 men; their avenger is at hand, and urges them to crowd into his presence, and prove that they are ready to shed their blood for the recovery of their country; he will supply them with arms; the Polish legions in Italy have confirmed the Polish character.

Success attended the French arms; Spandau, a very strong fortress, surrendered without opposition; Prince Hohenloe was obliged to capitulate, with several thousand men.

The occupation of Hamburgh by the French was announced as having taken place, and all English property seized. The Elector of Saxony formally acceded to the Confederation of the Rhine. The bulletins, for several succeeding numbers, still continued to describe the fallen state of the Prussians, and state their losses and disasters; they stated the prisoners taken during the campaign to be upwards of 140,000 men, and standards and stands of colours to the amount of 250, of field-pieces 800, and pieces of cannon found in garrisons, more than 4000. At Rostock 40 or 50 Swedish vessels were seized, which were immediately sold.

In May 1806 Napoleon issued a decree from St. Cloud, calling an assembly of the Jewish deputies at Paris, under the idea of forming a Sanhedrim; his wish was to alter the condition of the Jews, and every incident of his life was looked on, as that of a very extraordinary man; he was compared to Cyrus, King of Persia, who, for the part he took in liberating the Jews from their captivity in Babylon, and rebuilding their temple, was called God's Anointed, or the Messiah; the comparison was borne out by circumstances, which increased almost without intermission. If Cyrus restored the Jewish temple, Na-

Imperial Decree relative to the Jews.

poleon restored the Christian church; and those who addressed Bonaparte as a favoured person, compared his good fortune with the crimes of his enemies.

The Jewish deputies met at Paris July 15th, 1806, and were met by the Emperor's commissioners, who put several questions to them, which they were to answer fully. He took great pains so assimilate the Jews to the other citizens of the Empire, and alter their condition for the better; indeed this was humanity, as in many parts of the Continent they were treated with uncommon barbarity; those of Frankfort were confined to one particular street of the city, very confined, in which their habitations shewed every sign of filth; they were shut up in this quarter from sun-set to sun-rise; the public gardens and the walls of the ramparts were forbidden to them; and no later than in 1806 the following inscription disgraced a public walk in a christian city, "Jews and swine not admitted here;" but now things are changed at Frankfort, they occupy such houses as they are able to pay for.

An Imperial decree made many changes in the manners of the Jews; all obligations were annulled for loans made by Jews to minors, without the sanction of their guardians, to married women without the consent of their husbands, or to military men without the authority of their superior officers; no Jew was to trade without a patent, and to get this he must produce a certificate to the prefects, that he is no usurer; they could not settle in the departments of the Upper and Lower Rhine, except they purchased real property, and abandoned commerce; they must perform personal service, and are not allowed to find substitutes. A return was made to Bonaparte of the number of Jews on the habitable globe, which

The Battle of Pultusk.

amounted to upwards of three millions ; one third of this number are under the dominion of the French Emperor.

CHAPTER CIII.

WHEN the war was transported into Poland every thing appeared in a novel light ; the Russian Cossacks were described as a most wretched set of beings ; when the French cavalry were used to their mode of attack, they used to wait for them without alarm. Even the winter did not put a stop to the operations of Napoleon ; the battle of Pultusk was fought on the 26th of December, when the Russians were defeated with the loss of 12,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and 80 pieces of cannon ; they after this fell back to Ostrolenka, fifty miles north-east of Warsaw. Pultusk is about half way between those two places.

Nothing of any great consequence occurred till the affair at Prussian Eylau ; the action began at day-light ; the Duke of Berg with the cavalry fell on the hostile army, and was very successful ; the Russians were beaten with great loss, and driven an hundred leagues beyond the Vistula.

The French army got into cantonments ; Dantzic was soon after invested, and its communication with the sea cut off ; a strong corps from the garrison attempted to

The Battle of Friedland.

re-take a post they had lost in the morning, but several hundred men and some artillery were lost.

Bonaparte, in a message to the French Senate, called out the conscription for 1808 ; as a reason, he said, all the nations were arming ; England had set on foot a levy of 200,000 men, and other powers were adopting this measure. In another part of the same message it is stated, “ We offered peace to England before the fourth coalition shewed itself ; the same we offer to England still.”

The surrender of Dantzic, which took place the latter end of May, created much surprize. The terms obtained were very good ; and a present was granted by the Emperor Napoleon to every soldier in the besieging army. The Allies, however, were not yet dispirited ; but the battle of Friedland stopped every inferior kind of warfare. This was a most severe battle ; the Allies had their right extended a league and a half beyond the town of Friedland, which supported their left. At five in the morning Marshal Ney began the attack, and was charged by some regiments of cavalry and a cloud of Cossacks ; several of the Russian columns were charged with the bayonet, and driven into the river Alle ; the French pursued their good fortune, and were in every point successful. The number of Russians killed was supposed to be from 15 to 18,000 ; they had 25 generals killed, wounded, and taken ; 80 pieces of cannon taken, and a number of caissons. On the news of the victory of Friedland the enemy abandoned Koningsberg ; the French entered it, and found immense riches ; some hundred thousand quintals of corn, upwards of 20,000 wounded Russians and Prussians, all the warlike stores sent by the English for the Russians, and 150,000 muskets, not unpacked.

Napoleon soon after issued a proclamation to his sol-

The two Emperors meet on the Niemen.

diers in his usual style; he tells them that in a ten days' campaign they have taken 120 pieces of cannon, killed, wounded, or taken 40,000 Russians, taken Koningsberg, with 300 vessels laden with ammunition and arms sent from England to their enemies; they will return to France covered with laurels, and his benefits shall prove the love he bears them.

A conference took place on the Niemen between the Emperors of Russia and France; the two boats in which they were reached a raft at the same time; the two Emperors embraced on leaving the vessels, and entered the pavilion prepared for them; their conference lasted two hours, and when it ended their attendants were admitted. Another interview took place the next day on a small island in the Niemen, at which the King of Prussia was present.

The three Sovereigns now visited each other alternately. The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia dined with the Emperor Napoleon, and after rising from table passed some time together. The French guards treated the Emperor of Russia's and King of Prussia's life guards with a dinner; they for a short time exchanged uniforms, and went cheerfully through the streets, and in good order.

What followed the battle of Friedland and the peace of Tilsit, gave rise to many reflections in England. The intimacy, which began on a raft in the water, would, it was apprehended, be established firmly on earth. Though Napoleon was not on the Russian borders, he was very near them. Not long before this he had driven a King from his palace, and Alexander might apprehend, that if the French once set foot in his dominions, they would fix a new dynasty on the throne of Petersburg. At

Signing of the Treaty of Tilsit.

Tilsit an interesting, if not a solid, friendship commenced between the two Emperors ; Alexander interceded for Prussia ; but though he took the conquered King to dine with the victor, very little could be obtained for him.

By the treaty signed at Tilsit on the 9th of July, the territories to be restored to Prussia are those she possessed in the year 1772 ; she of course loses most of her Polish provinces, and also Westphalia, which, with other territories, including Hanover, forms a new kingdom, which Jerome Bonaparte was acknowledged King of, by the title of King of Westphalia.

The King of Prussia gives up all right and title to these provinces for ever, as well as to what he cedes in Poland, which were to be formed into a duchy under the King of Saxony.

He also renounces for ever the city of Dantzic ; and the other parts of Prussian Poland, not disposed of, are given to Russia ; Dantzic is to be under the protection of the Kings of Prussia and Saxony, but to be shut against Great Britain during the war.

All the dominions remaining to Prussia were to be shut against Great Britain till peace took place between her and France.

The King of Prussia acknowledges Joseph Bonaparte King of Naples, and Louis Bonaparte King of Holland. Prussia, it was supposed, lost near five millions of subjects, and a third of her revenues. Hesse and Brunswick, and different parts belonging to Prussia, on the left bank of the Elbe, were in Jerome's new kingdom.

The treaty contains twenty-nine articles. The 13th article is the chief one to an English reader ; by it " the Emperor Napoleon accepts the mediation of the Emperor of all the Russias to negociate and conclude a definitive

Peace proclaimed in Paris.

treaty of peace between France and England ; but on this condition, that the mediation shall be accepted by England in one month after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

The advantages obtained by the French Emperor by these treaties are immense ; his power is still increasing, and likely to continue so.

In July 1807 the Treaty of Tilsit was laid before the Senate, by the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, with an appropriate speech. The proclamation of peace being signed was made through Paris with every mark of solemnity, by the heralds at arms, at five in the afternoon ; they were on horseback, attended by numbers of troops ; the concourse of people was uncommonly great. The greatest joy was manifested, and repeated shouts of " Long live the Emperor !" A general illumination took place in the evening.

The Russian mediation to adjust the dispute with France was communicated to the British Government in a note from M. Alopeus, the Russian ambassador, to Mr. Canning, stating, that his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias wishes to interfere and use his mediation between the two nations, to re-establish a maritime peace on equitable principles. Mr. Canning replies, that he is commanded to declare that his Majesty has always wished for the restoration of a general peace, and has given proofs of this ; he waits anxiously for the communication of the articles of the treaty concluded at Tilsit, and trusts that the character and stipulations of that treaty may afford a hope of a secure and honourable peace ; in that case he will readily avail himself of the offer of the Emperor of Russia's mediation ; but till then a more specific answer cannot be returned.

A British Expedition sails to the Baltic.

But an event soon occurred that put an end to every hope of peace, and changed the friendly disposition of Russia towards England; we allude to the Expedition to Copenhagen, which has been much canvassed. The causes of this expedition are not publicly known; it was said, that a plan was secretly devised by Bonaparte in the treaty of Tilsit, to seize the Danish fleet, to assist in the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland. Whether this was the case or not, the British Government thought proper to frustrate the intended plan. Admiral Gambier, with a powerful squadron, and Lord Cathcart, with about 27,000 land forces, were despatched to the Baltic, and arrived off Elsinour the 14th of August, when the troops were disembarked about midway between Elsinour and Copenhagen.

To calm the minds of the inhabitants of Zealand, the two commanding officers jointly issued a proclamation; in this they state, that the increased power of France on the Continent of Europe, makes it impossible for Denmark to continue her neutrality, and as her fleet will eventually be turned against Britain, they demand it, on a solemn promise of restoring it in the event of a general peace, in the same order in which it is given up; they only ask it as a deposit, not a capture; they do not wish to be enemies to the Danes, and the troops, while on shore, will treat Zealand, as long as their conduct permits it, as a province of the most friendly power in alliance with Great Britain, whose territory has the misfortune to be the theatre of war.

The sensations on the minds of the Danes, produced by the proclamation, can easily be imagined; they issued a declaration in answer, which was replete with justice and energy; the language was very strong, and denied any

A British Troops land in Denmark.

knowledge of such a plan as was attributed to them by the British Government. Every attempt at an amicable negotiation for the surrender of the Danish navy having failed, the British minister demanded and received his passports.

By the Danish accounts it appears, that when the British troops landed in Zealand, no ship was rigged, most of the crews were on leave of absence, and the greater part of their army in Holstein; they had scarce sufficient to defend the town. General Peyman, commander in chief at Copenhagen, sent a flag of truce, requesting passports for the two Princesses, nieces to his Danish Majesty, to go to Colding, which was granted.

Lord Cathcart, in a letter to General Peyman, tells him that if the city should determine to abide the horrors of a siege, it shall be annoyed by *every possible means of devastation*; if Denmark refuses to join England in a friendly alliance, the most positive orders are given to attack the city by land and sea. This summons was answered by General Peyman in the most heroic manner; he says, he will endeavour to defend their honour, and end his days as a brave soldier. A second summons from Lord Cathcart to the Danish General was answered in a like animated manner; their fleet, he says, is safe in their own hands, and they are resolved to defend themselves. All negotiation having failed, the bombardment commenced on three sides of the town, which was stated to be dreadful. Great damage was done to the city, many of the public buildings destroyed, and much of the town burned; another day would have totally destroyed the place. At last a capitulation was agreed on by the respective commanders. The whole of the Danish navy was surrendered to the British, consisting of eighteen sail of the

line, including two sixty-fours, fifteen frigates and sloops of war, six brigs, and twenty-six gun-boats. The Danes acted most honourably in fulfilling the engagements of the treaty, and the British evacuated Zealand on the 13th of October.

Soon after his return to Paris, the Emperor went with the accustomed ceremonies to open the session of the Legislative Body, and addressed them in a speech, in which he tells them what has taken place in the North; that he wishes for a maritime peace; he has created different Imperial titles, to give new splendor to his principal subjects, and to prevent the return of all feudal titles. His speech was received with the most lively enthusiasm, and he ended the sitting amidst cries of "Long live the Emperor," which was heard in every street he had to pass through.

The public joy was never manifested in France in a more general manner; fireworks on the bridge of Concorde terminated the fête in a most brilliant manner; the whole city was illuminated, but the Palais Royal had the preference.

The next event that occurred was the British expedition to Buenos Ayres, marked out by a few adventurers, who betrayed their Government into an idea of conquering South America, to enrich themselves. The Peruvians felt no ways disposed to unite in any way with England, or her cause. The Viceroy of that country published a manifesto with respect to the operations of the British Government.

He says, that the three proclamations, published at Buenos Ayres by the English General Beresford, must have inspired all his Majesty's subjects with indignation; he describes the English as doing every thing to lull the

English defeated at Buenos Ayres.

inhabitants into a seeming state of repose, and availing itself of every circumstance to cement and propagate its tyranny; he continues in a very energetic strain to call on the inhabitants to defend their country against its invaders, and bids them look to their conduct in India as an example.

A few armed vessels, under Sir Home Popham, and a few land forces, under General Beresford, sailed from the Cape of Good Hope in April 1806, for Buenos Ayres, which they took, and also Monte Video; which latter fortress was of little importance to the English trade, as Buenos Ayres was the mart for the sale of her merchandise, and the depôt for exporting the commodities of that part of South America.

Large sums were expended and fresh troops despatched, under the command of General Whitelocke and others, who, in the end, experienced the same fate as their predecessors; they ventured to storm the place with unloaded muskets, and without flints; this, though not very common, was, however, not deemed reprehensible by the Court Martial which tried him on his return to England, and whose sentence disgraced him.

A most desperate engagement took place in the streets of Buenos Ayres; the whole male population of the place were employed in its defence; the English lost not less than 2500 men in killed and wounded.

The first news of the capture of this place caused the most extravagant joy through all the British empire. Sir Home Popham wrote to the principal mercantile cities, announcing the market open to them; but before the business could be followed up, Buenos Ayres was re-taken by the Spaniards.

The English were detained prisoners of war, and

marched up the country, contrary to the articles of capitulation.

The *Moniteur* made some very strong observations on British expeditions, and chiefly on the one to Buenos Ayres.

Another instance of an unauthorised act of a British commander occurred soon after, by directing the forcible seizure of some pretended British seamen, said to be on board the Chesapeake American frigate; the course pursued on this occasion by the American President, Mr. Jefferson, was honourable; his proclamation is an appeal to the good sense of England, while it checked in some measure the irritation of his fellow citizens.

The arguments made use of by both sides, on the right of searching vessels at sea, and taking out men, were very warm and violent; but, however, Great Britain has yielded her right of searching American vessels, and Admiral Berkeley, the officer who ordered this, was recalled from the Halifax station, where he commanded.

Before this period the United States prospered beyond example; in one year, ending with September 1806, her exports were valued at 101,000,000 of dollars, of which 41,000,000 were in native commodities; their revenues, which arose almost wholly from the receipt of customs, increased in that year to near 15,000,000.

But we will return to Europe. In compliance with the 5th article of the treaty of Tilsit, Bonaparte conferred a new constitution on Poland. The Arch-Ducal crown was declared hereditary in the Kings of Saxony, who were to appoint a Viceroy. Slavery was abolished, and the freedom of all religions allowed. It then enumerates the number of the Diet, the Senate, and Chamber of Representatives; and after some necessary regulations

Pethion chosen President of Hayti.

it concludes with the approbation of Bonaparte, in order to fulfil his engagements with the people of Poland.

While this was taking place, the Negroes of Hispaniola had settled their government under the name of the Republic of Hayti, and chose General Pethion as their President. A grand ceremony took place on the day fixed for the President to take the oaths prescribed by the constitution; the President crossed the hall to the sound of musical instruments, and appeared at the bar, where a chair was ready for him. The President of the Senate then addressed him, and was answered by the President of Hayti, swearing the oath to be faithful in discharging the duties of his office, and to maintain with all his might the constitution; he then sat while the music played patriotic airs. Soon after he issued a proclamation, calling to the minds of the people the different duties required of them, and recommending their paying attention to the property of individuals.

The Emperor of France had attempted to open a negotiation for Peace with the King of Sweden, for whom he expressed the highest consideration, but that high spirited monarch rejected his overtures with disdain. The French laid siege to Stralsund with an immense force, and threatened it with their vengeance whenever they should enter it; their besieging army was computed at 40,000 men. After a long and spirited resistance, with great loss on both sides, Stralsund at last surrendered to the French, his Swedish Majesty, and a great part of the garrison having previously left it.

The Emperor of the French, on his throne, received a deputation from the Legislative Body, and one from the Tribune; the President of the former delivered an

Death of Cardinal York, at Rome.

interesting address on the state of the nation ; in this he lays great stress on all the Emperor has done for the country, and tells him that the people look up to him as to their Father. The President of the Tribunate made also an address to the same effect. Both deputations were most graciously received by the Emperor. The Minister of the Interior made a report to the Legislative body on the state of the empire ; he describes the improved state of France, the different public works carrying on, and the various improvements throughout the realm, and lays down the grandeur of France on a very large scale ; and attributes her greatness to the great care and paternal affection of the Emperor, who, when 500 miles from his capital, had done so much in favour of his people, and the glory of the arts. The exposition of the state of the empire was ordered to be printed, with the President's speech, and six copies given to each member.

The war between Russia and the Porte was, through the mediation of Bonaparte, brought to a conclusion. The news of General Michelson's invasion of their territory filled Constantinople with indignation. The cry of the people for war was universal, yet the Turkish Government was so unwilling to engage in hostilities, that thirty days elapsed before war was determined on. The Ottomans, however, obtained a favourable peace, and were replaced in possession of their provinces, which they were deprived of for a time by the Russian conquests. A treaty of peace between both the powers was signed in August 1807.

Cardinal York, the last of the Stuart race, and who once assumed the title of Henry IXth, died at Rome,

Russian Declaration against the Attack on Copenhagen.

aged 82; though a pretender to his crown, his Majesty of England had for some years allowed him a pension of £4000 per annum.

The Emperor of Russia was no sooner informed of the result of the English expedition to Copenhagen, than he assumed the highest displeasure against Great Britain, as may be known from a Declaration he issued at the time. In this he expresses very great indignation against England for her attack on Copenhagen, and horror at an act of that description, committed in a close sea, whose tranquillity so long depended on the Court of St. James's; he is very violent in his declamations, and declares that no ambassador from England shall hereafter reside at his court; and that nothing shall be re-established between the two countries till England shall have given satisfaction to Denmark.

He has, doubtless, given some grounds of complaint, that we can find no where refuted; his rejection of mediation between France and England we cannot think reason enough for declaring hostilities against England, whose fate is, happily, by her local situation removed from the warfare of the French Emperor; both seem resolved to contest the sovereignty which Britain possesses over the ocean. The answer which the Emperor of Russia's sentiments called forth was expressed in a British Declaration that was issued soon after.

This declaration is very long, and embraces much matter; it denies having refused the mediation of Russia towards a peace with France, but only objects to the manner it was proposed, as none of the articles of the treaty of Tilsit were communicated to Great Britain; it defends England on the business of the Copenhagen ex-

An Embargo on British Ships by Russia.

pedition, and does not think his Majesty obliged to offer any apology to the Emperor of Russia on that head; his justification is before the world; he will be happy when the time of peace comes, heartily to join in so desirable a work; having nothing to concede, so he has nothing to require, save friendship; satisfied if Russia will return to her ancient feelings, and to a sense of her own dignity as an independent nation.

Every thing was done that could harass England in her trade with the Continent; an ukase was published, signed by the Emperor of Russia, forbidding all trade with Great Britain; an embargo was laid on all British vessels, and on such goods as were landed and warehoused; none of their immoveable property was to be sold or transferred into other hands; and a committee of Russian merchants was to be appointed in the Russian ports to conduct the embargo, and all expenses to be defrayed from the custom houses, and placed to account of sequestered ships and goods.

The French Government does not seem to be altogether wrong in its language on the subject of the British declaration. The English Cabinet was wrong in resting its defence of the war with Russia on the secret engagement of that power with France in the conferences at Tilsit. France has wished to shew the subterfuge England has resorted to, to vindicate its own aggression in Denmark, and to falsify the idea that the Cabinet of London had good reason to distrust the Court of St. Petersburg in its offer of mediation between France and England.

England has uniformly taken an interest in the fates of the powers on the Continent, yet, in all the coalitions

she has formed, she has been uniformly baffled ; she hurried the Austrian army into disgrace before they could be joined by the Russians, who were in Poland, when the battle of Ulm was decided. Austria and Russia certainly made war for her, while the forces of Britain were employed to the benefit of England, without having any regard to her Allies. If the English squadron, which forced the Dardanelles, had united with the Russian squadron ; and if the 10,000 men sent to Egypt had joined the 12,000 Russians at Corfu, the attack on Constantinople would have been a great diversion for Russia ; but she made an expedition to Egypt, which had nothing in common with the quarrel of Russia.

Russia expected an army of 40,000 English landed at Stralsund or Dantzic, to co-operate with her ; but the treasures of Buenos Ayres excited her cupidity, and Dantzic received no succour.

It is denied that France has levied contributions on the Prussian states, as the British declaration asserts ; but that those, on the contrary, which existed during the war, have been discontinued. The countries between the Niemen and the Vistula, with a population of more than a million, have been evacuated. The French, however, still retain some other provinces, because the final arrangements with the King of Prussia are not terminated.

Sum voted for Maynooth College in Ireland.

CHAPTER CIV.

A NEW British Parliament was assembled in the latter end of June, and was opened by a speech from the Lord Chancellor in the name of his Majesty ; he deeply regrets the failure of his squadron in the Sea of Marmora, followed, as it has been, by the losses sustained by his gallant troops in Egypt ; but he wished to be of service to the Emperor of Russia, in assisting to conclude hostilities with the Sublime Porte.

An address was carried against a spirited opposition by several members. A bill was introduced this session, called the Irish Insurrection Bill, said to have arisen from a system of secret oaths entered into by the Irish, which arose with the French revolution ; but it was only the continuation of a bill passed so long back as the year 1786, when disturbances existed in Ireland ; its object was to enable the Lord Lieutenant to proclaim any county or district out of the King's peace, which the magistrates reported to be in a state of insurrection, and to prevent improper persons having arms ; the people were obliged to register their arms, and pikes were not to be forged ; this was passed into a law.

Thirteen thousand pounds was voted for in the British Parliament, in addition to 5000*l.* allowed before, for increasing the establishment of Maynooth College, destined for the education of 200 priests of the Roman Catholic persuasion, but now meant to include 200 ; this was more

Mutiny at Vellore in India.

useful and beneficial, as the Catholic priests in Ireland would be educated at home, and therefore would not imbibe foreign affections ; it was a wise and liberal policy, by which three millions and a half of people will derive advantage from such a means of local instruction, and must increase to their country and its government.

A melancholy affair took place at Vellore in India ; some dissatisfaction prevailed at this place and Serin-gapatam, as the natives entertained an idea that the British Government would endeavour to convert the Seapoys in their service into Christians. A fatal insurrection at length took place ; some orders were issued about a change in the dress of the native troops ; the mark of the cast on their forehead to be taken off, and their upper lip shaved ; this excited alarm among them, lest it might deprive them of their respective casts, to which they were much and obstinately attached. The English, however, persisted, and some Seapoys, who resisted, were punished ; in consequence the European barracks at Vellore were surrounded, and a heavy fire from musketry and a six-pounder poured in at every door and window on the defenceless soldiers ; the English sentries, the soldiers of the main guard, and the sick in the hospital, were put to death, and all the British officers they could find ; two colonels were shot while addressing those who had not joined the mutiny ; and a lieutenant of the 69th, with his son in his arms, both bayoneted before his wife. The scene of carnage lasted for some hours, when at length a sally was made from the barracks, and the insurgents were repulsed ; 600 of them were soon cut to pieces by the 19th dragoons under Colonel Gillespie, and about 200 more were immediately shot. The loss of the English was 12 officers killed, and 88 rank and file wounded.

Britain abolishes the Slave Trade.

The Government of Fort St. George soon issued a proclamation, assuring the native troops that the respect shewn to their religion and customs should be in future continued, and no interruption given to any native in the practice of his religious ceremonies.

The internal police of Madras about this time had raised itself above the civil power, and was directed by a military man, who was presented by the grand jury of that settlement for his acts of outrage and injustice; but what will a government like that in India hesitate to perform!

The French Emperor has of late cultivated a friendship with the Persian Monarch, as is supposed to effect a passage through that country to India. We understand a military survey has been made by his direction, from Constantinople to the shores of the Indus, to ascertain the best geographical information of that part of Asia. An ambassador from the Persian Court has been received at Paris with great pomp and attention, whose object cannot be easily misunderstood. Napoleon has always wished to try the success of his arms in the East, and when he has leisure, we are of opinion he will not delay the experiment.

Persia affords no facilities for the progress of an European army, but abounds with many obstacles, so that all his genius will be required to surmount them. It however furnishes some of the fleetest and most beautiful horses in the world, which might much accelerate the movements of an army, solely intended to expel the British settlers from India. Many of the native Princes, we think, would most powerfully aid him.

The British Legislature this year totally abolished the slave trade; this has been anxiously sought for more

The African Institution established.

than twenty years, by Mr. Wilberforce of the British House of Commons, with whom the first motion for abolition originated. Every obstacle was thrown in his way that could be thought of. Virtue and truth, however, at length triumphed, and the Africans have nothing of this destructive trade to dread from England. Many have advanced, that the negro population in the West Indies cannot be kept up without importing fresh slaves; and the abolition has been deprecated as an impolitic measure; yet we are certain, that by good treatment, the African descendants in the colonies will not diminish; lenity or severity have had great effects among the births and deaths, and being placed in more ease and comfort, every plantation will be able to produce sufficient hands for its own constant cultivation. Besides, by this Africa will be more exempt from those barbarous wars, which took place merely for the purpose of multiplying the victims for the slave market. England has also shewn a disposition to better the condition of the Africans, by extending to them the blessings of civilization; an institution has been formed, with the Duke of Gloucester at its head, to promote these objects, and introduce the arts of social life in a part of the globe so long the seat of ignorance and barbarism; we wish it may succeed, and that it may reward in a moral and commercial point of view all who have so liberally patronized it.

In turning to Portugal we cannot but remark on the weakness which has so long prevailed in that government. It was foreseen, that when France had established a peace in the North, she would turn her arms against the only remaining ally of England on the continent, and become mistress of the Portuguese dominions.

The Court of Lisbon had long betrayed a want of

Succours sent from England to Portugal refused.

firmness in domestic and foreign relations. The Portuguese army was also wasted away, and on a very bad footing. So weak a government could oppose no very great obstacles to the invading army, and the bulk of the Portuguese nation would see with indifference the extinction of a government which did not inspire respect or confidence. England saw that France would invade Portugal, and a fleet and army was provided in England, and Lord St. Vincent arrived at Lisbon with six sail of the line, while the rest of his squadron lay off Ferrol, to join him on the shortest notice; but the Portuguese Government did not conceive this assistance necessary; their opinion was, that they were not exposed to danger, and declined the services of Britain. The English troops were accordingly disembarked at Plymouth, and Lord St. Vincent returned to his station.

Though France abandoned her designs on Portugal at that moment, it was only to give a short respite to the House of Braganza; Lisbon was again threatened with invasion, unless she discontinued all intercourse with England; Bonaparte would listen to no other terms than the positive renunciation of all communication with England, and the expulsion of all the British from Lisbon. The Prince Regent, however, was firm in his attachment to Britain, and gave every assistance to the English to dispose of their property, and remove to their own country.

Soon after this the Prince Regent issued a proclamation, in which he says, that being unable longer to preserve his neutrality, he has united himself to the Emperor of the French, and to his Catholic Majesty, and orders all his ports to be shut against all ships belonging to England,

The Portuguese Royal Family sail for Brazil.

The Portuguese navy was prepared with all despatch, and every thing provided to transfer the seat of Government to the Brazils, where the Royal Family of Portugal had long planned their removal. A regency was appointed for the administration at home. The English ambassador, Lord Strangford, was very active in assisting the Sovereign of Portugal in his migration to South America, which he was much averse to; he so far wished to keep in with Bonaparte, that he signed an order to detain the few British subjects; and the little British property that remained in his dominions. The British minister on this demanded his passports, and went to join the squadron under Sir Sidney Smith, which was sent to prevent the Portuguese fleet from falling into the enemy's hands; but in a few days the communication between the Court of Lisbon and the British Ambassador was resumed, and the Prince Regent laid his only hopes of safety in his abandonment of his European dominions. Bonaparte hastened this step by his Imperial edict, that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign; the Prince Regent resolved to delay no longer, and on the 29th the Portuguese fleet sailed out of the Tagus with the Royal Family, and about 18,000 Portuguese subjects. The fleet was eight sail of the line, and four large frigates, and a number of Brazil ships, in all about 36 sail. Mutual salutes were exchanged with the British squadron, and yet two days before this they were in open hostility.

Before the Prince Regent's departure he published two proclamations relative to the future government of Portugal. In the first he says, that finding the troops of the Emperor of France are marching into the interior of the kingdom, and on their way to the capital, he has resolved to retreat to his dominions in America, and establish him-

self at Rio de Janeiro, till a general peace; he then nominates seven of the nobility to be a regency in his absence, and do all the necessary duties.

In the second proclamation, after some preliminary matter, he advises them to pay attention to, and provide for the troops of the Emperor of the French good quarters, supply them with whatever they may want, and punish any insult that may be offered to them.

The immense extent of the Portuguese possessions in South America, having a coast of nearly 2200 English miles, is known by the general name of Brazil. Little is known of the interior; even the missionaries were unwilling to penetrate far. The whole population may be about 1,000,000, by no means adequate to the extent and fertility of the country. It is divided into three governments, of which Rio Janeiro is the chief, from the gold and diamond mines in its neighbourhood. It has been said, the province of Rio Grande alone might furnish much of Europe with wheat, hemp, and other products; yet it seems that wheat, rice, and flour, are great articles of importation into Bahia. Several districts produce cotton, indigo, coffee, chocolate, rice, pepper, and the noted Brazilian tobacco. The number of cattle in some of the provinces is prodigious, and they are often slaughtered for their hides.

The imports into the Brazils are linen, woollens, silk, hats, wheat, flour, rice, port wine, furniture, oil, cheese, &c. in return for gold, sugar, tobacco, Brazil wood, skins, ipecacuanha, and other drugs. The trade in timber is great, and some is preferred to the best and strongest timber in Europe; woods for ornamental cabinet work, or for dyers, may be had in great variety; ginger, turmeric, different species of pepper, American coffee, cap-

Account of Rio Janeiro.

sicum, and the Guinea pepper, are found here. Medicinal plants grow here in great abundance, and plants and fruits common to the tropical regions of America.

The principal commercial city at present is Rio Janeiro; the harbour is excellent, and very capacious; the surrounding country is fertile, and abounds in cattle and sheep; the shops are full of English goods. Though the province of Rio Grande is the richest in Brazil, the river is scarcely navigable on account of shoals. The province of San Catharine is the mart for the productions of Rio Grande, as, from its excellent harbour, it is next to that of Rio Janeiro, the best in the country.

The European settlers are described as gay and fond of pleasure. The Portuguese acknowledge that Brazil exhibits great deficiency of genius and curiosity. The youth have strong republican notions, and ridicule their subjection to Portugal; they also bear considerable enmity to Great Britain.

There is a strange story told of a set of miscreants, called Paulists, united by want of religion and morals: the first inhabitants of St. Paul, formed a republic like that of robbers in a cavern; malefactors of all nations and colours formed a community, which gradually rose to a thousand families; they declared themselves free, and none but regular thieves were admitted into the colony. The first trial was to bring in two Indians as prisoners; and all virtuous actions were punished with death. They were guilty of great atrocities, but at last a few virtuous corrupted the state, and the city was yielded to the Portuguese monarchy.

The Portuguese army in Brazil is only 8000 regulars and 20,000 militia; 5000 European troops might make a conquest of it. The country seems to have improved

but very slowly, though it has great advantages ; but if the Government is liberal, and industry is unfettered, it may yet become a rich and powerful empire.

If Portugal shews us a weak monarchy without spirit to defend itself, Spain has shewn a no less want of energy to repel the French Emperor. The Prince of Peace took the whole management of public affairs on himself, and as an agent of Napoleon, though hated by all ranks, he preserved his influence over the councils ; every thing he demanded was readily complied with ; ten thousand Spanish troops were marched into Hanover, and the money he was always applying for, to relieve the wants of the French armies, was generously supplied out of the Spanish coffers ; the former dignity of Spain was sunk to the will of Bonaparte, whose hostility she dreaded.

A proclamation was published at Madrid, stating, that a dangerous conspiracy against the Sovereign was discovered, by his son, who had planned the dethronement of his father, and was surprized in the royal palace with the cypher of his instructions. The Council of Castile, who were instantly convoked, directed the Prince to be confined as a prisoner at his own residence. This order was written by Don Manuel Godoy, the Prince of Peace. While Ferdinand was justifying himself, the Prince of Peace entered the apartments where he was, and shewed him a copy of a letter, by which he was made to ask pardon of his royal father.

Shortly after these circumstances transpired, his Majesty addressed the Council, saying, that a want of due consideration on the part of his son had pleaded so strongly for forgiveness, that his feelings as a father could not refuse it ; that the Prince had disclosed the authors of the horrible plan he was about to perpetrate. His letters to

Proposal of Marriage to the Prince of Asturias.

his royal parents were also sent to the Council; the Prince acknowledges his want of duty to his Father, but, surprised in an unguarded moment, he had denounced the guilty and begged to be permitted to kiss his father's feet. He expressed a similar sorrow to the Queen, requested her pardon and interference with the King in his favour. From these letters the Prince was again restored to the favour of his parents, and a festival was appointed on the King's escape from what he had been threatened with.

Many have ascribed this to France, as a scheme to sacrifice the Prince of Asturias; yet we cannot reconcile that with the act of Napoleon appointing that Prince to command the troops destined to conquer Portugal. We doubt not it was a measure to revolutionize that kingdom.

When Bonaparte formed his ambitious plan of uniting his own family with the royal families of many of the European kingdoms, it is probable that Spain shewed itself an object of easy acquisition. Directly that he settled a peace with Russia, he employed himself in the subjugation of this power. He formed a pretext to call out a number of her best troops, and sent them to a distance, that they should not interfere with his plans.

He next proposed a marriage with the Prince of Asturias and a relation of his own, whom he had created a French Princess. Ferdinand, after some reluctance, agreed to this, hoping it would strengthen the alliance between the French and Spanish monarchies. Don Cevallos, a nobleman of high rank, and full of the confidence of the Spanish Court, says, that the Prince's acquiescence arose from the persuasions of the French minister at Madrid, and his dread of Bonaparte's displeasure. Whether this would have preserved him the throne of his ancestors we cannot

Treaty signed at Fontainebleau.

decide ; but we are inclined to believe, the removal of the Bourbon family was resolved on by Bonaparte, before this overture of marriage was in idea.

A strange kind of a treaty was signed at Fontainebleau, by which the division of Portugal was agreed on. The King of Etruria was to have part, with the title of King of Northern Lusitania, part to be given to the Prince of Peace, with the additional title of Prince of Algarves ; the remaining provinces to continue as they were till a general peace, as a conditional exchange for the cession of Gibraltar, Trinidad, &c. This treaty also acknowledges his Catholic Majesty Emperor of the two Americas, which he may assume at the general peace, or at farthest within three years from that period. Portugal was to acknowledge the King of Spain as its protector, and not to make peace or war without his consent.

These were flattering schemes to the Spanish Monarch, but Napoleon had no intention of accomplishing what he had thus proposed ; yet the King of Spain believed they would be realised. By the treaty it was agreed that a French army of 25,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry should enter Spain, and march directly for Lisbon ; that they should be joined by 8000 Spanish infantry and 3000 cavalry, with thirty pieces of artillery ; that 15,000 Spanish troops should also occupy other parts of Portugal ; and that 40,000 French should be ready at Bayonne to proceed through Spain into Portugal ; all to be subject to a French General. Thus they secured a footing for a powerful army in the heart of the kingdom, while its frontiers was to be garrisoned by 40,000 men in the interest of Bonaparte.

It will be difficult to account for the folly of the King of Spain, in suffering his territories to be taken hold of

Bonaparte writes to the Prince of Asturias.

by such a numerous army, whatever were its objects; but hostility on the part of the Emperor of France soon shewed itself; he could not conceal his views with regard to Spain; he had long doubted Ferdinand's friendship, and had some suspicions that the Prince of Peace was not altogether faithful; this latter saw the approach of the loss of his favour; and sought to interest the friendly offices of the Grand Duke of Berg in his favour; he however gave but little hopes, and Bonaparte, to conceal his plans, took a journey to Italy. Charles and Ferdinand both wrote to him on the marriage of the latter with a French Princess; but Bonaparte declared he had no communication from the Prince of Asturias about it, though he previously acknowledged to have had a letter from Ferdinand on the business. While he was apparently occupied with the concerns of Italy, he was marching a powerful army into the heart of Spain. He avowed that his intentions were to favour the Prince of Asturias; indeed, so timid was the King of Spain, that he gave orders for those very troops to be treated with the greatest attention.

The Cabinet of Madrid was the seat of much intrigue, which greatly accelerated its ruin; and every thing conspired to favour the French Emperor in his attack on that kingdom.

Bonaparte wrote to the Prince of Asturias, but it is uncertain whether this letter was written before or after the conspiracy.

He tells him he sends by a nobleman he names, a sword, which is to be given to the Chief destined to revenge their arms for many grievances; he will one day govern the people he now flies to conquer; he has commanded General Junot to make known to the army that the per-

Bonaparte presents some MSS. to the Imperial Library.

son at its head represents his, and promises himself the friendship he so highly values will be increased.

The Seven Isles ceded by Russia to France were now organized; they form a part of the French empire, and acknowledge Bonaparte as their Sovereign; the government was newly arranged, but the courts of law and the senate were to continue as before till further orders.

Bonaparte this year presented to the Imperial library at Paris a large number of very scarce and valuable MSS. most in the Oriental languages, with eighty typographic monuments of the fifteenth century; among them Bonner's Fables, the only one extant. In the MSS. is a copy of the Edda, a sacred book of Scandinavian mythology, written on parchment in that language,

CHAPTER CV.

NAPOLÉON's efforts to shut out England from all trade with the continent had long been evident; Europe has felt the consequences of what the French Emperor so often decreed, to lessen the wealth of the British nation, and excite disaffection in the people towards its government. France, though never so great a commercial country as England, has long wished to trade in those articles which have enriched England. Both governments have followed a system that has ruined multitudes

His Britannic Majesty's Orders in Council.

of their subjects, without hastening a peace, while the neutral has been sacrificed by both. In France these disorders have risen to an enormous height; sugar and other articles of colonial produce are more than 300 per cent. beyond their former price; bark and rhubarb were too exorbitant for the poor; and many other countries on the continent suffered the same privations. British manufacture and colonial British produce, however, found a market, in spite of the many obstacles opposed to it. Three orders of council were issued on the 11th of November, in his Britannic Majesty's name, the first of which declares all ports in a state of blockade from which Great Britain is excluded; and the vessels employed in the trade of the manufactures of these countries are liable to be seized, unless any such vessel is going direct to or from a British or neutral port to some free port in the enemy's colonies, or the British colonies, and laden with what may be lawful.

The second order relates to the exportation of goods from the United Kingdom of the produce or growth of France, Spain, &c.: they shall not be permitted to be exported, unless the parties exporting enter into security that they will export within a certain period one third of the tonnage of such goods in British manufacture or colonial produce; the produce of France to be subject to duties. The effects of these orders in England and America were such as might easily have been foreseen by those acquainted with what these two nations enjoy in their intercourse with each other.

Much warmth of discussion took place on this subject in the British Parliament, and Lord Erskine moved some very strong resolutions on the illegal measures which had given rise to the debates. Lord Lauderdale also proposed

An Embargo laid on all Shipping in American Ports.

some similar resolutions, which were likewise negatived. Some of these resolutions were bold in their language, and attacked his Majesty's advisers in a bold manner; one said, that any attempt to alter or repeal any law of the land, by order of his Majesty in Council, or otherwise than by his Majesty in Parliament, was unconstitutional and illegal.

The state of the West India planters was another subject of parliamentary investigation. A committee reported that the planter's interest had gradually declined from the year 1799; sugar had so fallen, that instead of paying the planter 18 per cent. for his capital, the expenses incurred were not reimbursed, and the duty increased as the price became less; a decrease of duty and an advance of bounty were suggested, and to preclude all intercourse between the ports of Cuba, Porto Rico, Martinique, and Guadaloupe, through the means of the United States. In a single year it was stated that 45,000 hogsheads of sugar were imported into Amsterdam alone through American bottoms.

When the Orders in Council were known in the United States, the President recommended to Congress, that in order to ward off the danger which threatened the vessels and merchandize of the United States, they should stop the departure of any of their vessels, and prepare for any hostility that might occur in consequence. An embargo was in consequence laid on all shipping within the harbours of the United States, and any clearance, even to any port within the United States was forbidden, unless security was given in double the value of vessel and cargo, that the said goods should be re-landed in some part of the United States.

This was reprobated by some as declaring war against

America puts herself in a State of Defence.

Great Britain, nor indeed was it generally approved of in America. England might complain of it, and France condemn it, as weakening their resources; but America, if she could, was to escape the danger they had both threatened her commerce with by the blockading decrees. English merchants have profited by the spirit of the Americans, and have enjoyed their shipments to the continent, when they were not permitted any communication with it.

The Berlin Decree of Bonaparte, and the British Orders in Council, have both distressed the commerce of the United States, and it is doubtful whether England or France have gained in any manner by these restrictions. A letter from the Minister of the Interior to the Chamber of Commerce in France, shewed the impotency of the British Orders in Council, as a means of distressing that kingdom, and that its inhabitants would brave those interdictions by which England sought to annoy them.

More distress was occasioned in England by the Orders in Council, than in either France or America; if the ships of the latter were laid up and rotting, rather than expose them to capture and insult, the manufacturing towns in England suffered greatly from the intercourse between the countries being suspended. The merchants of London and Liverpool met to petition Parliament against those orders, as they had no market for their goods, and large sums were due to them from the United States, which might eventually be sequestered; at any rate, to have their remittances so long detained must be serious to their credit.

America would not ratify a treaty her minister had concluded in England, but put herself in a state of defence, if she could not obtain by remonstrance, as much relaxa-

tion of the decrees of Great Britain and France as would secure her a safe passport to her trade with Europe. England did not seem inclined to grant any thing that might look like yielding to France, and Bonaparte equally refused any thing that might add to the influence of Great Britain.

The Emperor of the French published a rejoinder to the British Orders in Council of the 11th of November, dated Milan, on the 17th of December 1807, in which he declares the British Islands in a state of blockade, and every ship or vessel that sails from England, or the English colonies, or going to them, is good and lawful prize, and may be captured by their ships of war or privateers; these measures shall cease with all nations who make the English Government respect their flag; but shall continue to be in force till that nation turns to the principle of the law of nations, which regulates civilized states in a state of war.

France has, however, declared, that her decrees were not intended to be applied to the United States, and ordered those American vessels to be restored, which had been seized by virtue of them, in several French and Spanish ports.

The embargo was followed by the Non-intercourse Act, which could not but affect the commercial interests of Britain. It could clearly be proved that America could exist independent of her trade with Britain, and her citizens subsist by their own industry. If they did not import articles of English manufacture they would extend their own, which would soon supercede these foreign supplies, which make such a great part of their consumption.

We are obliged to take a further view of some of the

Manifesto of the Prince Regent of Portugal.

causes that first gave rise to hostilities between Portugal and France, as appears by a manifesto published by the Prince Regent immediately after his arrival at the Brazils. The motives which induced him to do this are detailed with much candour. It declares, that it owes to its own dignity a full explanation of the principles by which it has been actuated, that Europe and posterity may judge of its conduct. It states, it will disclose all it has suffered in the language of authentic facts, to excite the attention of those who may not wish to be the victims of such an overbearing and unbounded ambition.

The Court of Portugal lamented the French revolution, and the fate of the virtuous King with whom it was closely connected, and always strove to preserve neutrality; a minister was received in Portugal from France, who was treated with respect, though not acknowledged.

In turning to the treaties signed at Badajoz and Madrid, it complains of the bad faith of the enemies of Portugal; still, however, they strove to fulfil all the conditions imposed on her by her treaty with France, while the latter exacted from her unjust sacrifices. A French squadron, with the brother of Bonaparte on board, anchored in the Bay of All Saints, and were furnished with all sorts of refreshments; and, to conceal their route, they burnt several Portuguese vessels, which the proprietors, though promised, were never paid for; no complaint against this assistance was made by England, though France has since complained that Portugal assisted the English in the conquest of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres, while it is well known that England had no succours from Portugal contraband of war, and only received in the Brazils what had been liberally supplied to the French squadron.

Manifesto of the Prince Regent of Portugal.

The war with Russia delayed the views of the French Emperor with regard to Portugal; and when the peace of Tilsit was concluded, he caused the strange demand to be made to Portugal; first, to shut the ports of Portugal against England, to detain all Englishmen residing in Portugal, and to confiscate all English property, or expose itself to immediate war with France and Spain. Three weeks were allowed for an answer, and if not complied with, the French and Spanish ambassadors were ordered to leave Lisbon. The French Emperor, without waiting, ordered all Portuguese ships in the ports of France to be detained, so that hostilities commenced without declaring war. The Court of Portugal, aware of its danger, adopted measures for its retreat to the Portuguese dominions not exposed to invasion; all ships of war fit for sea were ordered to be fitted out, and the English were directed to quit its dominions. The French General Junot entered Portugal with an army, without the consent of the Prince Regent, assuring the inhabitants he came to secure his Royal Highness against the invasion of the English; and that he came as a friendly and allied power. He was received with proofs of the good faith of the Portuguese Government, when the Prince might have rallied a body of his own troops round him, made the English fleet enter the port of Lisbon, and thus have destroyed all General Junot's army.

His Royal Highness pursued his resolution to retire with his august family to the Brazils, and thus disconcert the plans of the French Government. Since his arrival in Brazil he has learned with horror the conduct of France in every instance with regard to Portugal, he therefore breaks off all communication with France, recalls the members of his embassy, if they yet remain, and

French Charges against the Portuguese.

declares war by sea and land against the subjects of the Emperor of the French; he declares all treaties with France null and void, particularly those of Badajoz and Madrid, because France has never respected them; he will not lay down his arms but along with his faithful ally the King of England, and never will agree to a cession of Portugal.

When the Emperor of the French shall have satisfied the just claims of his Royal Highness, and shall have restored to Portugal what he has invaded in the midst of peace, he will renew the connection between the two countries.

Such is the purport of the Prince's manifesto, and he clearly takes credit for more firmness than he has displayed, yet it unfolds many of the stratagems of France, and may justify his quitting his European dominions. It also furnishes proofs of the attachment of Portugal to the interests of England, and the hatred of Bonaparte towards the latter.

The French charge the Portuguese with allowing their ships to be visited by those of the English, and suffering its independence to be violated; that it allowed a French consul in the port of Faro to be arrested, and for three months refused to repair this outrage. She is accused of using art to get succours from England, and by her perfidy making the French and Spanish legations quit Lisbon; and France, to prevent Lisbon from getting into the hands of the English, was forced to declare war with Portugal.

The Prince Regent is further accused of planning his flight with the English, while a courier carried protestations of his attachment to the cause of the continent to Italy, where Bonaparte was; it also observes that Portugal is

Decrees against the Portuguese.

now free from the English yoke, and is occupied by French troops. A decree was very soon after published, which, in the first instance, orders a contribution of 100,000,000 of francs, about 4,000,000*l.* sterling, to be paid by all kinds of property. All that belonged to the Queen, the Prince Regent, and those Princes who have pensions, to be sequestrated, and all the property of those who followed the Prince Regent, unless they return to Portugal by a day named. The gold and plate of the Lisbon churches to be carried to the mint, and every individual to pay according to their rank. The owners of houses in Lisbon to pay one half of the rent. The chiefs of cities and towns to render the church plate in part of payment of such contributions, it being thought necessary to retain in the churches only as much as shall be deemed necessary for use in the usual performances of divine worship.

The French General began to enforce the strongest measures with respect to English property which remained in Lisbon, and threatened severe punishment against the natives who should try to conceal it. A decree was issued, making all moveable and landed property of any subject of Great Britain in Portugal, and all British goods to be confiscated; any Portuguese concealing effects or money he might have in his possession, was to forfeit ten times the sum, and corporal punishment to be inflicted in case of concealment; yet means were found to evade this strictness, and many merchants who had British goods were allowed to dispose of them.

The aversion of the Portuguese to the French was so great, that another decree was soon necessary. From the various assassinations that took place, a proclamation was issued, forbidding the use of fire-arms; this extended

General Junot publishes a Proclamation.

principally to the districts of the crown ; and every person armed with a pistol or gun, without he had leave from the Commandant of Lisbon, was to be treated as a highway assassin.

One of the first steps of General Junot, when he assumed the military functions at Lisbon, was to publish a proclamation shewing the moderate views of Bonaparte. In this he talks largely to the Portuguese, and tells them that all their doubts and fears should be removed, as the Great Napoleon has taken Portugal under his omnipotent protection. The House of Braganza has ceased to reign in Portugal, and the Emperor Napoleon wills that this fine country shall be governed in his name by the General in Chief of his army ; he has formed a council to assist him in the good he means to do. He will order roads to be made and canals formed. There will be no rivalry between the French and Portuguese troops but their valour and discipline. Their religion to be protected, and justice equally and speedily administered. No beggars to annoy the inhabitants ; workhouses to be erected, where the maimed poor shall find an asylum, and the idle be employed in labour to support themselves. He desires the inhabitants of Portugal to be peaceful and without fear ; Napoleon will love them as much as his French subjects, and he advises them to deserve his favour by a respectful submission to his will.

The British Government fitted out an expedition against the island of Madeira, under Sir Samuel Hood and General Beresford ; the British troops were put in possession of the island. By the terms of capitulation it was to be restored to the Prince Regent, whenever Portugal should be emancipated from the controul of France. It also provides for the safety of all public property, re-

Bonaparte settles the Crown of Italy.

serving such, and the revenues of the island, for its religious, civil, and military establishments.

Madeira may be of use to the English from its trade, and its conveniency in supplying the ships engaged in long Eastern voyages.

Bonaparte issued a decree in Italy by which he adopted, as his son, Prince Eugene Beauharnois, Viceroy of Italy, and settles the crown of Italy on his male issue, excluding women and their descendants ; but his adoption shall never authorise him to have any claim to the crown of France, the succession to which is fixed invariably. He confers the title of Prince of Venice upon Prince Eugene Napoleon, and that of Princess of Bologna on his granddaughter Princess Josephine, and creates the Chancellor Melzi Duke of Lodi.

The Austrian minister, Prince Starhemberg, made overtures to the British Government, to send plenipotentiaries to Paris to treat for peace with all the powers at war with England. This was grounded on the dispositions of his Britannic Majesty, expressed officially to the Austrian Government in November, and was meant as a proof of the ancient desire of France to end the calamities of war, as the Court of the Thuilleries wished the Emperor of Austria to be the intermediary of so desirable a result. The Austrian minister strongly urged the Court of London to consider the proposal which had been made, and hoped it would name negociators, to whom he would give passports. In answer to these proposals it was stated, that Prince Starhemberg did not say from whom he received his commission ; it regarded with surprise that the offer should be again repeated, without noticing the acceptance of those conditions, which were formerly declared indispensable preliminaries to a negociation on the

The Austrian Ambassador leaves London.

part of his Britannic Majesty. His Majesty, however, will only treat on a footing of perfect equality : when the basis of negociation shall be ascertained, and an unexceptionable plan agreed on, his Majesty will name persons to meet those employed, but will not again send his plenipotentiaries to a hostile capital ; under all circumstances his Majesty cannot authorise Prince de Starhemberg to speak to the Government of France.

Soon after this the Austrian ambassador demanded and received his passports, though his Britannic Majesty expressed his regret that he should be under the necessity of demanding them.

The Emperor of Austria was compelled to conform to the wishes of the French Emperor ; indeed, it would have been madness in him, surrounded as he was, to have resisted his commands. The internal state of Austria was not favourable to hostile designs ; she had suffered much from opposite interests in her Government ; her armies had been beaten by those of France, while her peasantry were indolent as to the interests of her Government ; she, however, issued a declaration, in which it was stated, that orders had been given to Prince Starhemberg to apply to the British Government, to induce them to concur in procuring a general peace ; but they answered, that their answer must depend on their allies. Prince Starhemberg was a third time ordered to apply, and was again answered in an evasive manner, so that at last he was ordered to leave London, and demanded his passports accordingly, which he received before he could deliver his last despatches, explanatory of the conduct of the Court of Vienna. The Cabinet of St. James's cannot mistake the causes which have induced the Emperor

The King of Spain declares against England.

to break off the connection between Austria and Great Britain, which, however, he will gladly see renewed.

This declaration created no uneasiness in England, it was only looked on as an effort to quiet the fears of Bonaparte. His Apostolic Majesty was endeavouring by gradual means to recruit his armies and finances, so as to evade the suspicions of Napoleon.

The Spanish Monarch issued a decree against England, complaining of the attack made on four frigates of his fleet, sailing under the confidence of peace; this was deemed sufficient to break with that nation, and though two years had elapsed since hostilities had commenced, Great Britain had not renounced the unjust domination she has over the seas, but treats friends, enemies, and neutrals, with the same tyranny.

Inflamed by these motives, the Spanish Monarch, with his ally the Emperor of the French, declared the British Isles in a state of blockade. The English Government rejected the proposals made to it by the Emperor of the French, either directly or through other powers friendly to England; he also stated, that her scandalous attack on Copenhagen left no doubt of her insatiable ambition to the exclusive navigation of the seas; her Orders in Council of the 11th of November prove this, by which France, Spain, and their allies, are in a state of blockade; but subjects the ships of neutral powers to be visited by English cruizers, to be carried into an English port, and pay a tax on their cargoes, to be determined by the English legislature. His Catholic Majesty is resolved to take measures to prevent the abuse which the British make of their power in regard to neutral flags, and will adopt the same measures taken by the Emperor of the French.

The French take possession of Barcelona.

Though this decree was meant to flatter Bonaparte, it did not check his views on the Spanish monarch, who in fact had no power or influence over the councils of his own kingdom. In little better than a month a French army invested his country, who, under pretence of marching to Valentia, became masters of Barcelona. Charles's conduct was extremely weak in letting such a force enter his dominions, although Bonaparte held out to him that they were intended for the conquest of Portugal. In February 10,000 French troops entered Barcelona without opposition, as the governor was informed they merely intended to halt and rest themselves. At the expiration of three days they appeared on the parade ready to march; the people assembled to take leave of them, when they divided into two columns, one of which marched to the citadel, which they took possession of, the other to Montjoi, a fort on a hill, which commanded the town; here there was a garrison of 6000 Spaniards, who were obliged to quit it, though the Spanish commandant said he must wait the orders of his Government, while he offered the French troops any accommodation they might require. The French commander insisted on being immediately obeyed, and the Spaniards tamely submitted.

We do not exactly know the number of troops Bonaparte marched into Spain, but it is stated, that the number which entered that country through Irun, which is the last town in Spain nearest France, is as follows :—

	Infantry.	Cavalry.
General Junot's division	29,879	3,653
—— Dupont's	23,927	3,121
—— Moncey's	17,983	3,330
	Total..71,789	10,104

The Spaniards oppose their King's Departure for Seville.

Moncey's division was to be augmented to 30,000 men, but we do not find it ever reached that number. Those that took possession of Barcelona, and other small bodies that entered Spain by other routs, are not included in this number.

Bonaparte now became less guarded in his design to effect his purpose; he sent Don Isquierdo on a secret mission to Madrid; he had no written proposals, and was not to prolong his stay beyond three days; when he arrived at Aranjuez the Prince of Peace conducted him to the King and Queen. The purport of this interview remained a profound secret; but when Isquierdo left them their Majesties began to think of emigrating to their South American colonies; from this it is supposed that Napoleon suggested this measure.

About the middle of March a report was spread that the King was about to retire to Seville; this was looked on as a pretence for his emigration; a council was said to have been held, who varied in opinion; these reports were confirmed by orders being given to the troops at Madrid to leave the city. The populace of a city like Madrid are easily agitated, when under the influence of terror and alarm. The Prince of Peace was known to have a great and improper influence over the mind of the King, and it was thought he might use it to save himself at the expense of the honour of his Sovereign. The life of Ferdinand had been once attacked, and any hope in him might be destroyed if the favourite could get him to emigrate. On these considerations many opposed the King's departure for Seville; the King, however, issued a proclamation, which for a short time calmed their uneasiness. The next day, when it was known that the Spanish guards had left Madrid for Aranjuez, the tumult became violent;

The King abdicates the Throne.

the populace in crouds conjured the soldiers not to suffer the flight of a Prince, who having sacrificed his European subjects, wished to introduce disorder in the colonies, As the intelligence of his intended departure was circulated throughout Madrid, multitudes repaired to Aranjuez, where they found preparations making for his embarkation; the baggage of the court was packed up, relays of horses on the road to Seville, and every thing to announce a rapid flight; the populace stopped their departure, and sought for the Prince of Peace as the cause of this measure; at four in the morning crowds rushed to his palace, but were repulsed by the guards; the life guards joined the people, and the gates were forced, the furniture destroyed, and the apartments made desolate; the Princess was taken every care of; her husband had disappeared, and his brother was arrested by the life guards, which he commanded.

The King immediately issued two proclamations, by one of which he stripped the favourite of all his power and employments, and in the other, assured his subjects that the French army had entered Spain as his friends; and that the life guards had left Madrid solely for the protection of his person. The mob, however, became more violent; the favourite having escaped the mob, was arrested in a garret of his own house, where he was concealed for thirty-six hours. As the tumult still continued, the King resolved to abdicate the throne in favour of his son, the Prince of Asturias; a decree to that effect was published; he says that his infirmities not permitting him longer to support the burden of the government of his Kingdom, and wishing to re-establish his health in a more temperate climate, he has determined to abdicate his crown in favour of his dearly beloved son, the Prince of

The King's Letter to Bonaparte.

Asturias, he therefore orders him to be obeyed as King of all his dominions.

The first thing Ferdinand did was to confiscate the property of Don Manuel Godoy, who had taken thirty-six millions of rials out of the royal chest, and had, in the course of the last month, remitted sixty millions to London, where he has great treasures. Ferdinand likewise stated his determination of going soon to Madrid to be proclaimed. He appointed the Duke Infantado, a nobleman popular for his virtues, to the command of the Spanish guards, and conferred on him the presidency of Castile. The Council also addressed a proclamation to the people of Madrid; they assured the people of the new King's attachment to them; that they should have no doubt of his love for them, and that he will employ himself in acts for the public happiness; they recommend perfect tranquillity, convinced it will be the best testimony to his Majesty of the sincerity of their affections.

In a letter from Charles to Bonaparte, he says, "your Majesty will hear with pain of the events which have taken place at Aranjuez, and their consequence; under the pressure of the moment, and amid the clashing of weapons of a rebellious guard, I found I had to choose between life and death, and that my death would be followed by that of the Queen; I was compelled to abdicate the throne, but to-day peace is restored. I have taken the resolution to resign myself into your hands, and to await what you shall decide on my fate, that of the Queen, and of the Prince de la Paz. I address myself to your Majesty, and protest against the events which took place at Aranjuez, and against my dethronement."

This has been looked on as an act of Bonaparte, in whose power Charles then was. Don Cevallos, however,

He protests against his Abdication.

asserts, that Charles the IVth, in his presence, and that of all the other ministers of state, said to the Queen, three weeks before the disturbances at Aranjuez took place, "Maria Louisa, we will retreat to one of the provinces, where we will pass our days in tranquillity, and Ferdinand, who is a young man, will take upon himself the burden of government." It does not follow from this, that his resolution to abandon the throne was either deliberate or spontaneous. At all events we cannot give our belief that his abdication was his own voluntary act. We are led to believe this from the King having publicly issued a protest, in which he says he was compelled to renounce his crown to prevent greater calamity, and spare the blood of his subjects. Don Cevallos states, that no violence was done to his Majesty, either by the people, on the part of his son, or by any one else.

Ferdinand's accession was not well received by Bonaparte, whose ambassador was instructed not to offer congratulations on the occasion. Ferdinand, distrustful, sought to conciliate the favour of that Monarch; he appointed deputies to compliment him on his arrival at Bayonne, and paid the same respect to Murat, when he arrived with his army near Madrid. Murat sent a letter to Charles, condoling on the injustice of his fate, and promising the Emperor's assistance, if his abdication was involuntary. Charles thanked him for his attention, and declares his abdication was effected by treachery; he also says, that if he had not given up the throne to his son, most probably his life and that of the Queen would have been sacrificed; he added, that the Prince of Asturias wished him and the Queen to repair to Badajoz, though he informed him that the climate did not suit him, and

General Savary arrives at Madrid.

wished to purchase an estate in France, where he might live peaceably.

Murat's next plan was to deceive Ferdinand ; he assured him that Bonaparte might be expected at Madrid every moment ; to alarm Ferdinand, Murat professed to feel for the fate of the favourite, and told Charles he would procure his enlargement.

The Grand Duke of Berg issued a proclamation for the better government of his troops, before they entered Madrid ; he tells them they are about to enter the capital of a friendly power, and recommends the best discipline and friendship with its inhabitants ; he hopes there will be sufficient, but all excesses shall be severely punished, and he recommends the different commanding officers to see his orders obeyed.

Murat seeing the attachment on the part of the people of Madrid to their new Sovereign, used every effort to draw him from the capital ; he told the young King, that by going to meet Bonaparte, whom he stated to be in the Spanish territory, he would so conciliate him as to make him his friend. He induced the Infanta Don Carlos to set off and welcome the Emperor ; he then endeavoured to work on the fears of Ferdinand, but the King was not to be so easily terrified. Don Cevallos strenuously urged him not to leave Madrid till Bonaparte's arrival within a short distance of it was more certain. It is most probable this advice would have prevailed, but for the arrival of General Savary, who, as the Emperor's envoy, demanded an audience ; he declared Bonaparte's willingness to overlook the past, and to recognize Ferdinand, if he was assured that his sentiments towards France were like those of his father ; the King gave the most

Ferdinand prevailed on to leave Madrid.

satisfactory assurances on this point, and this was all that past; but General Savary began to assure Ferdinand, that Bonaparte might be hourly expected, and that it would be highly flattering to him if Ferdinand would leave his capital to meet him. He at length yielded to the entreaties of General Savary, and before he left Madrid issued a royal decree, stating the visit of his mighty ally the Emperor of the French, which would be of advantage to his kingdom and subjects; he placed his uncle, Don Antonio, at the head of a supreme Junta during his short absence, and trusted his faithful subjects would be tranquil, and that all attention should be shewn to the French troops in the capital, and that they should be supplied with whatever they wanted, till the object the Emperor had in view, the closer alliance of the two kingdoms, was happily brought to pass, of which he had no doubt.

General Savary told Ferdinand that Bonaparte was at Burgos, where he would certainly meet him. When they arrived there the Emperor had not come; Savary induced Ferdinand to continue his route to Vittoria, but here the King was again disappointed; he saw plenty of French troops, but no preparations for their Sovereign. Savary went to join Bonaparte at Bayonne, to concert measures to secure Ferdinand. While the Prince stayed at Vittoria, Savary was charged with a letter to him from Bonaparte; he enters upon the affairs of Spain at great length, and talks of the fickleness of the people; he says he has often desired that the Prince of Peace should be removed from affairs; that the friendship of King Charles has made him turn his eyes from the weakness of his conduct; as to the King's abdication it is fit he should know it before he acknowledges it; if he was not driven to it by the

Ferdinand arrives at Bayonne.

troubles at Aranjuez, he does not scruple to acknowledge his Royal Highness as King of Spain; his caution must be a security to the Prince for support in him, should party difference disturb him on the throne; he tells the Prince that he was much to blame; the letter he wrote to him was a proof of this; he desires him to distrust all popular commotions; a few of his soldiers may be murdered, but the subjugation of Spain shall be the consequence of it; he has touched slightly on points which it would be improper to enlarge upon; he will conduct himself towards the Prince, as towards his father, and he may rely on his desire to arrange every thing, and of his wish to give him proof of his regard and esteem.

The letter did not quiet the suspicions of Ferdinand, but he could not recede from the situation into which he was drawn by General Savary, who again assured him, that if he went forward to Bayonne, in a quarter of an hour after his arrival he would be acknowledged King of Spain and the Indies. He at last prevailed on Ferdinand to quit the Spanish territories, and he no sooner entered those of France than he saw he was no longer as a Sovereign and the ally of the French Emperor. He was chagrined at the little attention so manifest in those about him; he was conducted to a place no way suited to his rank; but he was not long in ignorance of his own fate; Ferdinand dined with Bonaparte, and nothing material happened; he was received as the ally of his host, but when he quitted the Emperor's presence, he was waited on by General Savary, who, from his master, told him that the Bourbon dynasty should reign no more in Spain, but should be succeeded by the family of Bonaparte; this was attended with a request, that Ferdinand, in his own

Don Cevallos argues for the Spanish Monarch.

name, and that of his family, should renounce his inheritance to the crown of Spain and the Indies in favour of the Emperor of the French.

Ferdinand was much astonished at this message, though his suspicions were raised before he left Madrid of the Emperor's intentions in urging this meeting so strongly. He could not have supposed, that for this the greatest falsehoods had decoyed him away from his capital; but he had no other choice than to submit to whatever terms were offered to him. A conference took place next day between Cevallos and Champagny, minister for foreign affairs, in which Cevallos warmly espoused the cause of Ferdinand, and observed, that the King, his master, had come to Bayonne on the repeated assurances of General Savary, that the Emperor would at once recognize him as Sovereign of Spain and the Indies; he protested against any violence to prevent Ferdinand's returning to Spain, and declared his resolution never to renounce his crown in favour of any other dynasty; he adverted to proofs that Charles's abdication was free and unconstrained. The French minister then observed, that while it was governed by a family which must feel for the misfortunes of its elder branch, Bonaparte could never rely on its assistance in case of a war with the powers of the North. Don Cevallos replied to this with strong arguments in favour of the King, and observed that while the Spanish nation were under their own royal family they had shewn every willingness to promote the welfare of France; but should Bonaparte deprive them of the name of their independence, the Spanish nation would turn against France, England would assist them, and he would unite them in interest and plans with his enemies. This argument was carried to a great length, when the French Emperor,

Cevallos displeases the Emperor.

who had heard all that passed, ordered both the ministers to enter his cabinet, and upbraided Cevallos very severely as a traitor; for, as he was minister to Charles, acting now as such to Ferdinand. The feelings of the French Emperor were more incensed, and he was the more irritated against Cevallos, for saying that if the French dared to attack the independency of the Spanish monarchy, 300,000 men would rise in arms to repel its invaders. Bonaparte, finding he could neither silence nor convince the Spanish minister, declared to him peremptorily, "I have a policy of my own; you should be more liberal, less susceptible on the point of honour, and not sacrifice Spain to the interest of the Bourbon family."

CHAPTER CVI.

AFTER this Ferdinand was told that some other negociator would be preferred to Don Cevallos, whose temper had displeased the Emperor. The Archdeacon Don Juan de Escoequiz, was persuaded to visit Champagny, to learn the mildest terms to which Bonaparte would consent; these, however, were the same which General Savary had communicated to Ferdinand; but there was a sort of compensation held out if Ferdinand would quietly agree to cede his rights, and a threat if he refused compliance. The Emperor promises to confer on him and his descendants the crown of Etruria, and in failure of issue from

Ferdinand strictly watched.

him to be secured to his brother Don Carlos, if he also signed the renunciation ; the Emperor's niece was to be at the disposal of Ferdinand in marriage ; but if he declined those conditions the Emperor would execute his plans by force, and leave him without compensation.

Ferdinand, by the advice of Cevallos, endeavoured to put off his determination. A nobleman, on whom he had great reliance, had instructions to demand a conference with Champagny ; he was to represent to the French minister, that to make Ferdinand's renunciation valid, he should be at liberty to return to Madrid, where he could more properly receive the Emperor's proposals in an official manner. Don Pedro de Labrador, the nobleman employed in place of Cevallos, finding himself unable to make any favourable impression on Champagny, asked if the King was in a state of liberty ? To this the French minister replied there could be no doubt ; and when, in reply, Labrador said he should be restored to his kingdom, Champagny answered, that as to his return to Spain, his Majesty should have a right understanding with the Emperor. That this infringement of the liberty of Ferdinand might be declared in an official manner, Cevallos addressed a note to the minister for foreign affairs, stating his Majesty's intention to return to Madrid, where his presence was necessary to regulate his affairs, and calm the minds of his subjects, who were in much confusion through his long absence ; he himself offered to remain at Bayonne, and treat with the Emperor on the interests of the two kingdoms. The effect of this note was increased vigilance to prevent Ferdinand's departure.

It was determined by Bonaparte to remove all further obstacles, to have Charles brought to Bayonne, and make use of him against his son, and obtain from him a renun-

Ferdinand resigns his Crown.

ciation of those rights to the sovereignty he had so lately acquired. The Grand Duke of Berg had orders to persuade the Royal Parents to set out for Bayonne, which they refused, unless the favourite was allowed to precede them. Murat applied to the Junta for his liberation, but as Ferdinand had ordered him on no account to be given up to the French, they refused to grant it, and sent to Bayonne for instructions. In the mean time Bonaparte informed the Duke of Berg that the liberation of Don Manuel Godoy was at his disposal, he therefore claimed him from the Junta in an absolute manner. The favourite was released by the Junta, and conveyed to Bayonne, where Charles and his consort soon followed.

Ferdinand's situation was now worse than ever; he saw no method of getting from the confinement in which he was held but by resigning a title he could no longer retain, and which he could not defend. On the 1st of May he renounced his crown in favour of Charles.

He wrote a letter to his Royal Parent, in which he expressed his surprise at his wishing to resume the government after having given it into his hands, and was at a loss how to view the request, that he should renounce the crown in favour of a parent who meant not to wear it; he wished, if possible, to act as became a dutiful son, and was willing to resign his crown in his father's favour, on condition, 1st, that they should both return to Madrid; 2d, that a Cortes should be assembled there, or that all the tribunals and deputies of the kingdom should be convoked; 3d, that then he would execute his renunciation in due form, and declare his reasons for doing so, being his anxious wish to keep the nation from a civil war; 4th, his Royal father should not be attended by those who had justly excited the hatred of the

 Charles writes a Letter to Ferdinand.

Spanish people ; 5th, that should his father not be disposed to reign in person, nor to reside in Spain, he was to be invested with the supreme command in the Royal name.

Charles paid no attention to these conditions, and answered Ferdinand by a letter, in which he tells him, that the faithless councils of the men who surround him, have brought Spain into such a distressing situation, that the Emperor now only can save it ; he enters at large upon the different affairs that have taken place in Spain, and descants upon his own conduct in all of them ; he accuses the Prince of having been led away by his hatred against France ; that he arrested him when he found him guilty, but felt for the tears of his mother, and forgave him. Even his ministers, he says, were slandered to the Emperor of the French, who, thinking he saw Spain inclined to disorder, occupied his states with his troops ; but he yet hoped that he would return to that respect and friendship he had always testified towards him ; he then charges the Prince with a violence of conduct too shocking to be overlooked ; he says, that he urged the guards to turn against him ; his prime minister was dragged from dungeon to dungeon ; he has disgraced his father's grey hairs ; deprived them of a crown worn with lustre by his ancestors, which he had preserved without a stain ; he has ascended his throne, and put himself in the hands of the people of Madrid, instigated by his party and the foreign troops that have entered the city. He contends that it is his right and his duty to spare the blood of his subjects, and not expose Spain to fire and sword ; he then urges his son on the traiterous councils he had listened to ; had he waited till the course of nature had raised him to the throne, then all might have

Ferdinand replies to his Father.

been well. For the last six months circumstances have been very critical, but supported by the good conduct of his subjects and his own feeble efforts, he should not have feared.

From the tenor of this epistle it is evident, that Charles's arrival at Bayonne was already favourably instrumental to the French Emperor's views, who had now both father and son quite in his power.

Ferdinand's answer to the letter we have just noticed is as remarkable for its forbearance and candour as his father's is for harshness. With respect to the first charge brought against him, the conspiracy of the Escorial, he was proved innocent of that by the eleven counsellors appointed by his father to investigate the charge, and was most honourably acquitted ; all the part, he says, he took in the disturbance which arose in consequence of the supposed intended emigration of his father, was at his own request, to endeavour to protect the favourite ; and yet this minister, the principal object of the popular fury, whom the King wished to screen from the mob, was deemed so inimical to the true interest of Spain, that one of Bonaparte's chief objects in his journey to Madrid was to persuade the Spanish monarch to strip him of his power. The intention of his Royal Parent to resign was first notified to his ministers as his own wish and choice ; he had readily agreed to unite in marriage with the niece of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French, when he was informed that it had been projected by Bonaparte, and sanctioned by his father ; his astonishment was therefore great, when he was required to resign his right to the throne of Spain in favour of the family of Bonaparte ; when his father abdicated the throne it was declared, that he would neither reign nor return to Spain ; Ferdinand

King Charles transfers his Title to Bonaparte.

contended he had not acted wrong in taking the reigning power on himself, after the formal renunciation of it in his favour by his Royal Parent; he renewed the alternative to resign in favour of his father, if he wished to govern in his own person; if not, he trusted he might be permitted to act as his representative; he implores him not to reside out of the Spanish dominions, and not to exclude their dynasty from the throne of Spain, and put in its place the Imperial Family of France.

The day after this letter was written Bonaparte had a long conversation with the Royal Parents. Don Cevallos says, that at five o'clock, "Ferdinand was called in by his father to hear expressions so disgusting that I do not dare to record them; all were seated except Ferdinand, who his father ordered to make an absolute renunciation of the crown, under pain of being treated, with all his household, as an usurper of the throne, and a conspirator against the life of his parent."

It would appear, however, that Bonaparte did not look on Ferdinand's renunciations to his father sufficient to make the resignation of the latter in his favour valid; for, even before Ferdinand had given obedience to his Royal Parent, Charles had executed the deed which transferred his title to the French Emperor; in this it is declared that the integrity of the kingdom of Spain shall be preserved; that the Prince placed on the throne of Spain by the Emperor should be independent; it provides also that the King, Queen, and Prince of Peace, should preserve their rank in France, with such servants as shall choose to follow them; that the Imperial palace of Compeigne shall be at the disposal of King Charles during his life; that a civil list of 80,000,000 reals shall be allotted to the King; the Queen's dowry, at his death, shall be 2,000,000; to

Charles addresses the public Authorities.

the Infantas of Spain the annual sum of 400,000 livres is to be secured; and the King gives to Napoleon his personal landed property in Spain, in exchange for the castle of Chambord.

In order to prepare the minds of the Spanish nation, Charles addressed a royal mandate to the Supreme Council of Castile, the Inquisition, and the Junta of Government.

In this he says he has resolved, in the present extraordinary times, to give a new proof of his affection towards his loving subjects; he has abdicated his claims on the Spanish kingdom in favour of his friend and ally the Emperor of the French; he therefore desires them to conform themselves accordingly, and to make every exertion in support of the Emperor Napoleon; he will often turn his eyes upon them, and will be happy to hear that they enjoy peace and contentment.

Charles having thus yielded his right to the throne of Spain in favour of Bonaparte, Ferdinand's refusal was of no use; the day after his interview with his parents he resigned the crown of Spain to his father. He says, that in proof of his love and obedience, he resigns his crown in favour of his Majesty, who he wishes may enjoy it many years; he recommends those who have served him since March, and relies on him in this respect; he then publishes a notification, wherein he states, that in virtue of the abdication he makes in favour of his well beloved father, he recalls the full powers given to the Supreme Council before he left Madrid; he desires them to pay regard to the orders of his father, and to execute them through the kingdom; he expresses his gratitude to all for the attachment they testified for him, and directs them to unite themselves to King Charles and the Emperor

Ferdinand removed to the Interior of France.

Napoleon, whose power can secure the prosperity of Spain ; he then urges them to live united among themselves and with their allies, and to avoid the spirit of madness and disunion.

Ferdinand's resignation was executed at Bayonne ; it simply states, that the Emperor of the French and the Prince of Asturias, having matters to regulate, have appointed their plenipotentiaries. The Prince of Asturias is to give up his right to the crown of Spain and the Indies ; the Emperor secures to him the title of Royal Highness, will cede to him the domain of Navarre, with an annual sum of 400,000 livres of appanage rent, and a further rent of 600,000 livres. The title of Royal Highness, the enjoyment of their respective commanderies in Spain, and a rent of 400,000 livres, are also granted to Don Antonio, Ferdinand's uncle, and his brother Don Carlos, and Don Francisco, if they accede to the treaty.

When Ferdinand had ratified the treaty by which he renounced the crown of Spain to Bonaparte, he was removed into the interior of France. When he arrived at Bourdeaux he and the Infantas, Don Carlos and Don Antonio, were ordered to address a solemn proclamation to the Spaniards, setting forth in the most favourable light their conduct, and what they had been obliged to adopt ; they express their grateful sense for the fidelity of the Spanish nation, and declare their grief to see them in confusion ; they wish to undeceive those who have been mistaken. When more than 60,000 French troops were in and about the metropolis, the Prince, to avoid the evils which threatened him, thought the best way to escape them was a journey to Bayonne. Charles had the crown no sooner again transferred to him, than he transferred it, in his own name, to the Emperor of

Bonaparte issues a Decree and a Proclamation.

the French, that he might choose who was to occupy it hereafter.

The Prince thought that any resistance on the part of his worthy subjects to the transfer of their kingdom would prove unavailing, and cause rivers of blood to flow, and the loss of their foreign possessions, while the independence of the Spanish monarchy was to be solemnly maintained by the French Emperor. Their Royal Highnesses absolve the Spanish nation from their allegiance to them, and exhort them to consider their happiness, by conforming peaceably to the Emperor Napoleon, and thus afford a testimony of their loyalty and affection.

Bonaparte next issued an Imperial decree to the Council of Castile and a proclamation to the Spaniards; in the latter he says, that the King and the Princes of Spain having ceded their rights to the crown, he decrees, that the assembly of the Notables, already convened, shall be held at Bayonne on the 15th of June, to fix the new government of the kingdom. The Grand Duke of Berg to be Lieutenant General of the kingdom; the Ministers, Council of State, Council of Castile, all civil, military, and ecclesiastical authorities are confirmed; justice to be administered as before.

He tells the Spaniards that he has seen their sufferings, and will relieve them; their Princes have ceded all their rights to the Spanish crown; he has convened a general assembly of the deputies of the provinces and towns, and will give them a King who resembles himself, securing them a constitution which will unite the power of the Sovereign with the liberties of the Spanish nation.

While this was going on at Bayonne, Murat was not idle at Madrid; his task was no less difficult than that of his master. Soon after his entrance into Madrid he demand-

Weakness of the Spanish Junta.

ed, that the sword surrendered by Francis the Ist, at the battle of Pavia, in the reign of Charles the Vth, should be delivered to the Emperor of the French ; this had always been looked on by the Spaniards as an honourable trophy of their victories over the French, and was carefully preserved in the Royal Armoury. The sword was taken to the apartments of the Duke of Berg with great ceremony, that the people of Madrid might be sensible of the value Bonaparte set on it.

A requisition was made on the inhabitants of Madrid to provide the French troops with great coats, as was supposed, to bring the Spaniards early into obedience.

From Murat's ascendancy over the councils of the Junta, by the power he held, many of Ferdinand's objects were entirely defeated ; while the latter was at Bayonne his communications with the Junta were cut off, and his despatches often intercepted ; and when this could not be done Murat opposed his master's commands to the instructions of Ferdinand. The Junta were often at a loss to know how to act, or how they should administer the public affairs in their hands ; though they were informed of their Sovereign's arrest at Bayonne, and in the midst of the enemy's bayonets at Madrid, we do not find that they used any effort to form another Junta, in a place where they might be secure from being interrupted ; they did not even acknowledge the letter telling the King's situation at Bayonne. A royal order was sent to them, desiring them to execute whatever they thought necessary for the welfare of the monarch or his kingdom ; this order they received, but though its powers were so ample, they still hesitated to act with firmness. They wrote to the King at Bayonne, wishing to know if they could appoint a council in a secure place, and who was to com-

The People of Madrid alarmed by the Removal of the Royal Family.

pose this council ; if hostilities should take place against the French ; if the further entry of French troops into Spain should be opposed ; and whether his Majesty would assemble the Cortes. To these queries Ferdinand replied, that they should adopt such measures as were of use to the welfare of the kingdom, and to commence hostilities whenever they should hear of his being taken from Bayonne towards the interior of France, in which case they were to oppose the entrance of more troops into Spain, and to assemble the Cortes, who were to occupy themselves in the protection and security of the kingdom. These orders were given to one of the members of the Junta, but were never laid before the Council ; indeed, they would have had no good effect, as before they reached the Junta, the Grand Duke of Berg had got himself elected its chief head ; this at once shewed their disgrace, and the successful arts of Murat, who was thus raised from the effects of the troubles of the 2d of May.

We cannot trace the cause of this disturbance, or ascertain the lives lost through it. The people of Madrid were long in a state of alarm, which was much increased by the Royal Family going to France ; Murat was not very anxious to stop this discontent by means of friendship ; nay, the reverse, as he secretly applauded the irritation which the presence of his army had occasioned to the people of Madrid, who when they knew to what extent Bonaparte had carried his plans relative to Ferdinand, shewed both hatred and resistance.

It was thought that Murat meant to seize Don Antonio, who had been appointed Regent in his nephew's absence, that he might take the regency on himself ; to this effect he ordered some troops, marched out but a few days before, to return to the capital, when the inhabitants col-

Dreadful Commotion in Madrid.

lected in great numbers to oppose them ; they attacked the French very resolutely, drove them, and took their cannon, and with these drove their enemies out of the city with great slaughter ; wherever a French soldier was discovered he was directly cut in pieces or shot ; the great street of Alcala, the Sungate, and the Great Square, were the principal scenes of action, which shewed a more bloody spectacle when the French returned successful, by the massacre of the inhabitants ; not less than 10,000 people were collected in the street of Alcala, and the carnage was increased by the cavalry, who gave no quarter.

The people, routed and dismayed, fled for refuge, but were followed by the enraged soldiery, and bayoneted ; a body of the people rushed to the arsenal, where were 28 pieces of cannon and 10,000 muskets, but they were driven back ; the number of the people slain must have been very great, and the French must have had a considerable loss.

This slaughter, which should have made the Junta transfer the Great Council of the nation to men who could act freely, produced a totally different effect, and made them co-operate with Murat, who was at their sittings ; when he had gained the confidence of his colleagues and the Junta, he issued a proclamation to the soldiers and inhabitants of Madrid ; he says, they were compelled to repress force by force, but they behaved well ; he is satisfied, and has transmitted an account of their conduct to the Emperor ; all have returned to order, the misled have seen their error ; confidence must be restored ; he urges them to keep up their friendly relations with the inhabitants, and that the harmony which subsists between the two armies must be more confirmed.

To the people he says, he advises them to be tranquil,

Joseph, King of Naples, arrives near Bayonne.

to return to their usual occupations, and in the troops of Napoleon see only friends and allies; every inhabitant may, as usual, wear their cloaks.

The names of three French soldiers, alluded to by Murat, are ordered to be inserted in the general orders; they are to parade for a month with a stick instead of a sword; the French soldier, who allows himself to be disarmed, has lost his honour.

The Council of the Supreme Inquisition, who still had a great influence over the kingdom, though its former dread was much diminished, was called on to exert their power in preparing the people to submit to their new master. Charles also tried to check the spirit shewn by his subjects in their opposition to their invaders; he assures them his only object at Bayonne, is to concert with his ally, the Emperor of the French, what may be most conducive to their welfare; they should guard against their enemies, who were easily to be known by their animosity to the French; all such must be looked on as the enemies of Spain and agents of England, who looked forward to the occupation of the Spanish colonies by exciting them against their natural ally, the Emperor of the French. He calls on all Spaniards to trust to his experience, and follow his example in trusting the safety of their country to his ally.

The grandees of Spain, and the various constituted authorities, were invited to assemble at Bayonne, and the Assembly of Notables were summoned to meet there on the 15th of June, when the new constitution was to be ready. Joseph, King of Naples, arrived at Pau on the 7th. The Emperor went to meet him; he met him two miles from Bayonne; the Empress met the King on the steps of the palace; addresses were immediately presented

The great Lords introduced to him.

to the King, as Sovereign of Spain, by the different public bodies there. The Duke de L'Infantado, who was first presented, as president of the deputation of grandees to King Joseph, made a short speech expressive of their joy in being before his Majesty, whose presence was necessary to the re-establishment of their country; the grandees of Spain have always been faithful to their sovereigns, and his Majesty will experience that fidelity.

To this Joseph replied, that he would devote himself entirely to the government of Spain, and that he would strain every nerve to restore order in the finances, and re-organize the naval and military force; that he would rule only by the laws, and that the grandees might be certain of his protection.

The deputation of the Council of Castile was then introduced, with whom his Majesty conversed some time on the various establishments of the kingdom; he observed there was a great resemblance in the laws of Spain and Naples.

The deputations of the Council of the Inquisition, of the Indies, and Finances, were presented to him; to all of these he spoke on the subject of their different employments; to the Council of Finance he observed, that he knew they had much to do in this branch; that the pay of both soldiers and sailors was several months in arrear, but he hoped to provide a remedy for this evil. The deputation of the military force of Spain, headed by the Duke del Parque, then addressed the King, who replied, he considered it an honour to be the first soldier of the army, and tells them to assure all who have served the state under his predecessors, that they shall enjoy their pay, pensions, titles, and emoluments, and that he will

Bonaparte proclaims Joseph King of Spain.

reward ancient services as if they were done under his own government.

When this audience was over, at ten in the evening, he repaired to his apartments, and supped with the Emperor and Empress.

The people of Madrid, in their address to the Grand Duke of Berg, had also expressed their flattering approbation of their new Monarch, and wished to unite their homage to that of the Supreme Junta of the Government and Council, to shew their loyalty and submission. Bonaparte then issued a mandate, in which he says, that the Junta of the State, the Council of Castile, the city of Madrid, &c. having notified that the prosperity of Spain requires a stop to be put to the provisional government; he proclaims his dear brother, Joseph Napoleon, the present King of Naples and Sicily, to be King of Spain and India.

All means were taken to impress the Spaniards with the moderation of Bonaparte; they were strongly urged to submit quietly to the new order of things, which would reform old abuses, and enlarge their privileges.

The General Junta, who thus addressed the people, say, with what admiration do they behold the benevolence of his Imperial Majesty outstrip their wishes; by giving them his magnanimous brother Joseph to reign over them, he will insure them their prosperity; they may hope, that under his influence their naval and military power will be terrible to their enemies; national credit will be maintained, and agriculture will receive improvements; he has guaranteed their religion; and for all the blessings which he showers on the people he only wishes them to remain peaceable, and to avoid rebellion and in-

The Northern States of Spain break into Insurrection.

surrection; nothing should induce them to resist the powers which rule them, or forget the laws; Spanish bravery cannot be doubted, but numerous hands of undisciplined men are nothing before a regular army.

The Supreme Junta published an ardent address, to display, if possible, in more glowing colours, the danger they might be in by yielding to revolts, and the advantages that must result from their new change in politics. It states, that when Spain, that favoured country, was on the point of annihilation, and all hope extinguished, Providence rescued her from certain ruin, and raised her to an unprecedented pitch of greatness. The House of Bourbon resigned the throne of Spain, the only one on which it now retained a seat; they found it impossible to keep it, and were forced to quit it; the greatest Prince in Europe has accepted their resignation, to establish the Spanish monarchy on new principles, that he may introduce those reforms so long hoped for; and will place the crown on the head of a noble-minded Prince, who will win all hearts by his gentle manners.

CHAPTER CVII.

THE spirit of opposition now assumed a serious aspect; the northern states burst into an open insurrection; Asturias and Gallicia began, and were followed by all parts of Spain not checked by a French army. The Juntas

Ferdinand proclaimed King at Cadiz.

were assembled, and the chief or central one established at Seville, the capital of Andalusia. The deputies assembled here on the 27th of May, and adopted several measures. Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies; they took possession of all the artillery, muskets, and powder in the magazine, and ordered all persons, from 16 to 45, without children, to enrol themselves; they sent couriers to all the principal towns in the south of Spain to follow the example of Seville, and their measures were carried into effect with great activity.

Ferdinand was also proclaimed King in all the towns on the coast of Grenada, and at Cadiz. Seville was fixed on as the seat of their deliberations, from Madrid being in the hands of the French; and every town which had two thousand householders, established an inferior Junta.

The Junta of Seville then issued precautions to be observed through Spain, in their necessity, to resist the violent possession which the French are striving to take of the kingdom. In these they recommend avoiding all general actions. The reasons will be obvious to every one who reflects but for a moment; a war of partizans is most adapted for their purpose, for which the situation of Spain is so favourable. They advise that there should be three Generalissimos, who shall keep up a communication with each other, and act with one accord; the people should be frequently addressed, and their courage and loyalty roused, telling them what they have to fear from the perfidy of the French, and that if they rule over them all is lost, Kings, property, liberty, and religion; they have often mastered France by force of arms, and are still the same Spaniards, and the world shall see they are not less brave than their ancestors. Much was contained in those precautions of a bold and spirited nature,

The Bishop of Orense declines attending at Bayonne.

and every thing said to rouse the feelings of the Spaniards in favour of Ferdinand that could be well expressed in so public a document.

The Bishop of Orense was appointed to attend the meeting at Bayonne, to concert measures for securing the liberty of the realm according to Napoleon's wishes; he declined the invitation, as the journey was too long for his age and infirmities to venture on; he however observed in a letter to a friend, what he thought should be submitted to the Emperor, who purposed to become, as it were, the angel of peace and divinity of Spain. He asks for what purpose is the council to be convened at Bayonne? Is it to improve the happiness of the kingdom? The royal family of Spain are shut up in the French empire, where the rights of the Bourbon dynasty are for ever proscribed. The abdication of Charles and Ferdinand at Bayonne, and of the Infantas at Bourdeaux, can never be looked on as free, surrounded as they were by every sort of force and fraud, and deprived of the advice of their faithful subjects; these have become suspicious to the whole nation, yet on these abdications the Emperor and King has assumed the government of the Spanish monarchy.

The glory would be great to the Emperor Napoleon, to restore to Spain her monarchs and their family; this would be the greatest eulogium of the Emperor, and would distinguish him among the monarchs of the earth; then would he be considered the friend and ally of Spain. Now he appears in a very different light; he appears the oppressor of her Prince and herself; the nation is without a king; let it be represented to the great Napoleon that, as he must be satisfied that the prosperity of Spain cannot be secured by enslaving her, he will not chain her

Spain declares Peace with England.

down to cure her ; let a lawful government be first settled, and then try to cure her.

The Junta of Seville, in the name of Ferdinand VII. issued a proclamation, in which they declare a general peace with England, which has offered all assistance that may be asked of her ; they also declare peace with Sweden, and order all their ports to be open to the ships of both nations.

Various addresses, calling on the Spaniards to rise in defence of their Sovereign and their liberties, were now common in every part of the kingdom ; the perfidious conduct of the French Emperor had not, they declared, any precedent in history ; he is spoken of as a traitor to the real interest of Spain, by taking from them their amiable Ferdinand ; every aid of powerful language was used in their addresses to instil the flame of loyalty in the breasts of the Spaniards ; the French were invoked to join the patriotic cause, and shake off their allegiance to their cruel Sovereign, who has deluged with blood the countries he has ravaged : “ The Spanish nation,” one of them says, “ invites their friends to withdraw from banners destined to enslave all nations ; they will fight by your side to gain their freedom and independance ; and, when the war is over, land shall be given them, which they may cultivate unmolested, and pass their days with a nation that loves them.”

One of the most spirited manifestoes which the times gave birth to, was that issued by Palafox, the Captain General and Governor of the province of Arragon, in which it is stated, “ that there is in Arragon an immense quantity of muskets, ammunition, and artillery, which have not been treacherously sold or given to the enemy ;

England offers every Assistance to the Spaniards.

it tells the Arragonians to defend their cause, and they will be invincible; the enemy will not dare to repeat any where else what they did in Madrid on the 2d of May, sacrificing its inhabitants without pity. It concludes by saying, that the French Emperor, all the individuals of his family, and every French general officer, shall be responsible for the safety of the King, and of his brother and uncle; if any violence is attempted against the lives of the royal family, to deprive Spain of their lawful King, the nation will use their elective rights in favour of the Archduke Charles of Austria, as nephew to Charles III.; and if the French army commit any devastations, no quarter will be given them. All that has been done is to be looked upon as illegal and void; and whatever may be done at Bayonne shall be deemed of no effect. All the provinces of Spain not occupied by the troops of the enemy, to nominate a Lieutenant General, who shall be obeyed by the chiefs of the different provinces.

England hailed the insurrection in Spain as a lucky omen; the British, through this means, thought to reduce the power of Bonaparte, and to rescue one part of the continent from his grasp. Two noblemen were sent to England by the Junta of Asturia, to concert with the British Government what might best assist the patriotic provinces; other deputies were sent from the north of Spain to Britain, to acquaint them that the inhabitants were resolute to oppose their invaders, and they had every hope of ultimate success. The English nation were united in their favour, and every thing was promised them; they wanted arms, ammunition, and clothing, and these were supplied them in great abundance. Some English officers were sent to find out the disposition of the Spaniards, and offer them what they might want.

Bonaparte issues a Decree against Rome.

The King of England issued an order of Council, stating his readiness to join with the Spanish patriots, to free their country from the rule of Bonaparte. Every facility was promised the vessels of Spain, in case they fell in with the British cruizers. The Spanish colonies were to be looked on as friends of Britain, if they united in avenging the indignity offered to their Sovereign; till this was known, all vessels and goods belonging to those residing in them, were to be carefully kept in safe custody; all the Spanish prisoners in the British Empire were released; this could not but conciliate the gratitude of the Spaniards.

During this time the Emperor of the French issued a decree relative to the Papal States, from his Holiness the Pope having refused to join him against England in a war.

He decrees, that in consequence of the temporal sovereignty of Rome having refused to make war against England, Urbino, Ancona, Mascera, and Camarino, are for ever united to the kingdom of Italy. When it was notified to his Holiness that these four provinces were taken from him, he published a remonstrance, in which he accuses the Emperor of France of having acted with great injustice towards him. His pro-secretary of state was ordered to address the Charge d'Affairs of the kingdom of Italy on this subject.

He begins by remarking, that his Holiness has seen with great pain the powerful monarch of the French proceeding against him, by taking away the best part of the states which remained to him; that he beheld with astonishment the pretence on which this was done, his refusal to make war on England, and to confederate with the King of Naples and of Italy, while it was known that

The Pope's Reply to this Decree.

his Holiness could not engage in any system of warfare, most chiefly against a government who never gave him the slightest offence; a reason given to justify the spoliation that had been made on the Holy See was, that the interest of the two kingdoms, and armies of Italy and Naples, demanded that they should not be interrupted by a hostile power; if it is meant to imply England, the history of nearly two centuries will disprove this pretence; the Catholic Princes of Spain and of the House of Austria, from the Emperor Charles V. to Charles II. of Spain, who possessed Naples and most of Italy, never experienced this obstacle to the communication of their armies; they were often at war with Great Britain, and oftener with France, but never pretended to force the Pontiffs of that time to unite with them, or despoil them of their territories if they had refused. His Holiness had declared, that he was disposed to shut his ports against the English for the present war, and guard his coast from hostility; but none could be dreaded while the troops of France covered his coasts.

His Holiness calls Europe as a witness, which has seen him in his old age, at the worst time of the year, cross the Alps, and go on to Paris, to consecrate and crown his Imperial Majesty.

It is well known that the provinces which have been usurped were received by the Roman Pontiffs from Pepin, the illustrious Father of Charlemagne; instead of betraying the interests of the Church, as has been laid to his charge, for upwards of three years he has borne the heaviest persecutions for religion, and for having done his duty.

The solemn oaths which his Holiness has taken do not allow him to acquiesce in what would render him subser-

The People of Cadiz apply to Gibraltar for Assistance.

vient to the Emperor of the French ; he has suffered for not consenting that his Imperial Majesty should nominate so many French Cardinals as would form a third of the sacred college ; he also suffers because he would not enter into a league against any power in Europe, to the evident injury of religion. He never did any injury to his Majesty or to France ; but if he had, it could not justify his Majesty in seizing on the property of the Church, which the pious gifts of many Monarchs have greatly increased.

His Holiness further sees that it is not his temporal, but also his spiritual authority which it is meant to subvert, and that his Majesty the Emperor wishes to make his Holiness incapable of doing his sacred duties, by dispersing his Senate, and destroying the church establishment. The Pope is not only Bishop of Rome, but as the head of the catholic church, can choose his ministers from different nations of the earth. He strongly protests before the world against the usurpation of his states, and declares it to be unjust and of no avail ; he conjures all those who have been withdrawn from his power, to continue inflexible in their faith ; and all these sentiments he has required to be made known to his Excellency the Charge d'Affairs of the kingdom of Italy, to which his Provinces have been added.

Before Spain knew what the British Government would do in the strnggles of the patriots, the people of Cadiz applied to Admiral Purvis, who commanded at Gibraltar, for assistance ; he immediately sailed for that port to attack the French fleet which was there ; he found, that the Marquis de Solano, Governor General of Andalusia, was not inclined to join his countrymen against France. The people of Cadiz were very uneasy on this account,

A French Fleet surrenders at Cadiz.

and were determined not to submit to the measures of their governor, who was suspected of treachery, and so strong were their suspicions that they determined to put him to death, which they did, and appointed Don Morla his successor, who was well qualified for the office he was called on to fill.

The new governor, in the name of the Supreme Junta, demanded the surrender of the French squadron of five sail of the line and a frigate, under Admiral Rosilly; the French admiral refused to surrender the fleet. The Spanish gun and mortar boats, and the batteries on the Isle of Leon and Fort Louis attacked the French ships, and this action continued from three o'clock in the afternoon till night on the 9th of June. It was renewed by the Spaniards the next day, and continued till two o'clock, when the French hoisted a flag of truce; but their terms being inadmissible, it was intended to recommence hostilities the next day, with an additional battery of thirty 24-pounders. The French admiral proposed to quit the bay; but if the English objected to this, (who were consulted by the Spanish governor) he offered, in order to calm the minds of the people, to confine his men to their vessels, and not to hoist his flag, on condition that the security of the persons and property of the French then in the province should be guaranteed under hostages, which he was likewise willing to grant, and to pay for what his squadron might require. Don Morla, however, rejected these offers, and would accept of no terms short of an unconditional surrender. The attack was again began, and in three days the French fleet surrendered, and the French admiral sent a letter to Don Morla. In this, he says, he finds himself compelled to give up the fleet under his command without further resistance, as it

Dupont, marching to Cadiz, stops at Andujar.

is the interest of both nations not to destroy the ships; the crews and their property will, he trusts, be respected; he requests a few troops only may be sent at first, that the crews may evacuate ship after ship, to avoid confusion; he wishes for leave to send an officer to the Emperor of the French, to give an account of what has taken place.

To prevent the French fleet at Cadiz from falling into the power of the Spaniards, Murat sent General Dupont from Madrid with a force to the south of Spain, to disperse, if possible, the Supreme Junta at Seville, and to quell the spirit of insurrection in that quarter. Dupont had scarce passed the Sierra Morena when he heard of the surrender of the French fleet, and having felt the disaffection of the Spaniards towards his army, he thought it unwise to go further on his way to Cadiz; after going to Cordova, which he shortly possessed, through the new-raised levies, he marched back towards Andujar.

Don Morla, to soothe the inhabitants, and quiet their jealousy, which they had expressed on the conduct of their former governor, and to cement their union against the French, in the name of the supreme government, issued a spirited proclamation to the inhabitants of Cadiz.

He tells them, in the first instance, that the French squadron has surrendered at discretion, relying on the generosity of the people of Cadiz, as is already known; the forces employed to reduce the French have suffered scarcely any loss; there are not more than four men killed; he trusts his conduct will meet their approbation; he orders all disturbances to cease; the laws are to reign, and every thing arbitrary be avoided; the field of battle alone authorizes the effusion of blood, and the most en-

General Castanos raises an Army.

lightened people disgraces itself by demanding the death of any person ; to avoid the multiplication of publications, he then addresses himself to the French residing in the city : the utmost lenity has been used towards them ; after taking the oath of fidelity to the Spanish nation, they are allowed to remain, and their property respected ; they are bound to shew their loyalty and respect for the government which treats them so generously ; by so doing they will avoid the odium of the good inhabitants, and obtain their love ; if they act otherwise they must dread their justice, for they will punish without mercy ; meetings which they may hold among themselves, and disloyal expressions in opposition to the Spanish cause, will be punished ; those who offend will surely fall victims.

Every means were used by the Junta of Seville to defeat the objects of Dupont's army, and effect its surrender. The best of the Spanish army, which Bonaparte suffered to remain in Spain, were those in the camp of St. Roche, before Gibraltar. When they were acquainted with what had taken place, and the opposition shewn to the French, their General, Castanos, opened a friendly communication with the British Governor of Gibraltar, Sir Hugh Dalrymple ; every assistance was given them to march to support their brethren ; and as they wanted money, this was also liberally supplied them.

Castanos received reinforcements from Ceuta, all anxious to retrieve the independance of their country and its government from the tyranny of the French Emperor ; nothing was left undone to inflame this ardour ; Castanos therefore soon found himself at the head of an army ready to join with him in any thing that might tend to their military glory and success ; yet it was not thought prudent at once to venture a general engagement with Dupont,

The Spanish Army attack the French.

who, though cut off from getting reinforcements, it was thought better to weaken by skirmishes than meet in a pitched battle. His supplies they knew to be very unequal to the subsistence of his army, while those who could afford him assistance fled from him. A consideration which acted on the mind of Castanos, and which made him avoid a general action as long as he could, was the state of his soldiers, many of whom, though eager for combat, were, from their inexperience in arms, unable to sustain a conflict with the experienced troops of France. He therefore very prudently resolved to wait for some opportunity of attacking the weakened enemy with more confidence, and bring in his forces more advantageously.

Many petty and partial actions took place in which the Spaniards were uniformly successful, so that Castanos brought his raw troops into a better state of discipline. A Council of war agreed that an attack should be made on the town of Baylen, where the van of the French army was posted, by two divisions, while a third and the reserve should occupy the enemy's attention by a feigned attack on Andujar.

The Spanish General Reding gained possession of Baylen with very little opposition, and forced the enemy back towards La Carolina. Notice of this success being sent to the commander in chief, he was ordered not to mind the retreating French division, but advance on Andujar without delay. Castanos, on the 19th of July, had information that the French had commenced their retreat from Andujar early on that day; the remainder of his force was ordered to advance towards Baylen.

General Dupont attacked the Spanish camps with a dreadful and sudden fire of artillery, expecting to take

General Dupont surrenders.

Reding by surprize; the Spaniards, though at the moment the attack took place they were preparing for their march, repaired, without confusion, under their gallant commanders to the points of attack, supported by their artillery; having partially suffered from the sudden assault of the enemy, the Spaniards recovered themselves, and got possession of the heights; the enemy attacked many parts of the Spanish line, being covered by his artillery; he was, however, routed and pursued for all his repeated attacks, which, without more than necessary interruption, were continued till twelve o'clock. General Dupont being unable to break the Spanish line, resolved to charge the Spaniards, but this had no better success; for although they penetrated the Spanish line, and reached their batteries, the Spanish army very coolly formed again, dismounted the enemy's artillery, cut to pieces the attacking columns, and shewed great bravery; the eventual success of General Reding over the main body of the French under Dupont decided the fate of the day.

The reserve had scarce come up with the enemy's rear, before an express arrived from General Reding with the news that he was master of the field. Dupont was now in an awkward predicament; his main body had retreated in great confusion, and with much loss; although his rear had not, indeed, been defeated, it was so very weak that it would easily fall before the attack of Gen. Pena's division. Dupont had hoped for reinforcements from Madrid, and General Wedel, with 6000 men, was despatched to join him; but this succour was at some distance, and if it had arrived, could do little service; Dupont, therefore, agreed to capitulate, reduced as he was by the want of

The Junta of Seville refuse to ratify the Terms of Surrender.

provisions, and all safe retreat cut off. Hostilities were therefore suspended in both armies, and it was proposed that each should maintain their respective positions; this the Spanish General would not agree to, but insisted on Dupont's surrendering at discretion. General Wedel in the interim advanced upon Baylen, and attacked General Reding so suddenly, that the regiment of Cordova was surprised, and two field-pieces were lost. This was deemed by the Spanish commander contrary to the laws of war; General Pena, therefore, prepared to attack Dupont, who, in order to prevent that, immediately ordered Wedel to retire, which was complied with, and the capitulation resumed.

Such terms were granted to Dupont as must be looked on highly favourable to the French, who were to give up their arms only till their arrival at Cadiz, where they would be restored, and the whole of the French army to be there embarked and sent to Rochefort. Before the battle of Baylen their force consisted of 14,000 men, of which near 3000 were killed and wounded; the Spanish army was 25,000 men, half of them peasants; their loss was 1200 killed and wounded.

Although the terms granted to Dupont were faithfully pledged by Castanos, the Junta of Seville opposed their being carried into effect; the inhabitants of Cadiz were much shocked at seeing several sacred utensils of the church among the plunder the French were carrying off. Dupont was also accused of acting improperly; yet we think nothing should have impeded the fulfilling of the terms on which the French army surrendered. The Junta of Seville were bound by their own honour, and the faith of their general to protect the French prisoners, and in-

The Patriots successful in other Parts.

sure their return to their own country ; justice should not have been yielded to the resentment of the people of Cadiz, however it might have been excited.

The Junta of Seville, to support themselves, said that Castanos had outstretched his powers; yet one would imagine they would scarcely give the command of an army to a General incompetent to act where he ought to be the best judge. If he could make no treaty without consulting them, they should have made this public, and manifested their displeasure at him for having done what he did. Their excuse, that they could not carry the French to Rochefort without exposing them to be captured by the English, was not more satisfactory ; there is no reason to think that the English Government would have opposed the conveyance of the prisoners to France ; the not fulfilling, therefore, the terms of the capitulation, must be subject to blame.

The arms of the patriots were not less successful in the other parts of Spain ; the defence of Arragon, entrusted to Palafox, will be long gratefully remembered by the Spaniards ; Spain owes one of her greatest triumphs to this general ; Saragossa, the chief city of Arragon, was repeatedly attacked by the French, who were resisted with the greatest bravery. The French used every stratagem that could be suggested to become masters of the place ; the inhabitants were constantly on the watch, to counteract the various kinds of assaults they were exposed to.

The walls of Saragossa seem to have been built merely to assist in raising the taxes on the articles brought for sale ; the gates, nine in number, are very simple in their construction, and there is a mud wall, or buildings, or

Don Joseph Palafox made Governor of Arragon.

parts of an old Moorish wall between them, with a slight parapet, but no platform even for musketry.

The houses are of brick, and the two cathedrals, the numerous convents and churches, though built of brick, are not void of ornament; the houses are generally three stories in height, the streets are narrow and crooked, save one or two market places, and the street called the Cozo, almost in the centre of the town; its population may be estimated at about 60,000 souls, though the census of 1787 gives but 42,600.

The inhabitants of this weak city, and the people of the surrounding country, rose on the 25th of May 1808, to resist the unprincipled attacks of the French. The Captain General of Arragon seemed to wish to submit to the enemy, by attempting to disarm the people, but he was seized and put into prison, and the government un-animously conferred on Don Joseph Palafox, the youngest of three brothers of one of the first families of Arragon.

This nobleman had been chosen from the officers of the guards, to be second in command to the Marquis de Castillar, in whose custody the Prince of Peace was placed when he was arrested at Aranjuez; he accompanied Ferdinand VII. to Bayonne, and escaped from thence, disguised as a peasant, to his seat near Saragossa.

He was about 34 years of age, of middling stature, his eyes lively and expressive, and his whole appearance that of a man accustomed to the first society; when he took the command in Arragon he was not much acquainted with military matters, as, though he had past all his time in the guards, he had passed it in the dissipation of Madrid, where his splendor had given him much distinction.

The French send a Force against Saragossa.

When he first took the command in May, Navarre and Catalonia were occupied by the French; the passes of the Pyrenees were open, and Murat, with a strong body of French forces, was at Madrid; thus encircled, General Palafox found the regular troops at Saragossa were only 220 men, and the public treasury of the province could only supply him with 2000 reals, about 20*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* English. However, seeing the patriotism evinced by the people, he declared war against the French, and issued a very spirited proclamation.

The French detached 8000 infantry and 900 cavalry against Saragossa, in June; the Marquis de Lazan, the eldest brother of Don Joseph Palafox, collected some armed peasantry, and met this force near Tudela; they were soon, however, compelled to retire to Mallen, where they experienced the inutility of undisciplined bodies exposed to regular troops, though the position was favourable for an irregular force.

The French advanced within about sixteen miles of Saragossa; the inhabitants assembled with every sort of arms they could procure, and made their general lead them against the enemy; when they had advanced a little way, they found the French in order of battle in a plain, with cavalry and flying artillery; the ill-armed and undisciplined Arragonese were obliged to retire to Saragossa; the few regulars they had, covered their retreat, with a steadiness that brought them their general's thanks, and was the admiration of their countrymen. The French took up a position near Saragossa, in a valley covered by rising ground planted with olive trees; they deferred their attack on the city till the morrow; but a detachment of cavalry that pushed into the town on the 14th of June, paid for their rashness.

Siege of Saragossa by the French.

Some cannon were hastily planted by the Arragonese before the city gates, and in favourable spots outside the town, at the Torrero, and the height near it.

The next day the French sent a detachment against the outposts on the canal, and their main body attempted to storm the city; they were attacked by the Arragonese, who fought with great fury, but without order; any person who stood near served their artillery; all in turn commanded and obeyed; and, after a severe conflict, their efforts were successful; some of the enemy that entered the town were instantly put to death, and the French General withdrew his troops out of reach.

Though freed for a little from the French, yet Saragossa had but very slender resources for a siege; its fortifications were nothing but mud walls; it wanted heavy artillery, and troops that could attack the enemy's works; yet the people were determined to defend the place to the last extremity.

After the French were repulsed General Palafox went to collect reinforcements, and provide for a siege. He found about 12 or 14,000 soldiers, who had escaped from Madrid; these he united with a small division of militia in Calatayud. It was the wish of his soldiers, and he therefore resolved to attack the French; they were, however, suddenly attacked by the enemy in the night at Epila, and after a most obstinate resistance were obliged to yield, and with great difficulty the wreck of this little force got into Saragossa.

The French were reinforced from Pamplona, and began to occupy the different military positions on the plain that surrounds Saragossa; they did not, however, carry on their operations unmolested, but they soon invested nearly one half of the town, and took the Torrero; a

The Arragonese defend the Town.

battery also fell into their hands ; the officer to whom it was entrusted, was hanged on his return to Saragossa, for not defending his post.

The Arragonese placed their town in the best state of defence they could ; they made batteries of sand-bags before every gate, broke the mud walls and other intermediate buildings for musketry, and planted cannon on commanding stations ; houses near the city were pulled down, and gardens and olive grounds rooted up cheerfully, wherever they were in the way, or covered the approach of the enemy ; the women carried water and provisions to the batteries at the gates, and the children conveyed cartridges which the monks had made. No day passed without some sanguinary contest near the town ; in the latter end of June about 400 soldiers of the regiment of Estramadura, small parties of other corps, and a few artillery men, continued to reinforce Saragossa ; 200 militia were added to the artillery, who soon learned their duties ; there were also procured from Lerida two 24-pounders and some shells.

The enemy drew their resources from the citadel of Pamplona, while the Arragonese, surrounded by the French, had no place whatever from which they could draw any sort of supply.

A powder magazine was blown up in the city, and a whole street reduced to a heap of ruins ; scarcely had the people recovered this, when the French opened a destructive fire on the city ; about 1200 shells and grenades fell in Saragossa, which had no building that was bomb proof. The attack of the enemy seemed to be chiefly directed against the gate called Portillo ; the sand-bag battery before it was often destroyed, and as often reconstructed ; the carnage here was terrible ; here a female, called

Gallantry of a Spanish Female.

Augustina Saragossa, about 22 years of age, performed an act of heroism which has seldom been equalled; she was rather handsome, and of the lower class of people; while carrying refreshments to the gates she arrived at the battery of the Portillo just as the French fire destroyed every one stationed there; the people hesitated to remain the guns; she rushed forward over the dead and dying, took a match out of the hand of a dead artillery man, fired off a 26-pounder, and then getting on the gun vowed never to leave it alive, and thus encouraging her fellow citizens, they rushed into the battery, and again opened a dreadful fire on the enemy. A small shield of honour was embroidered on her gown, with the word "Saragossa" on it, she received a pension from the government, and the daily pay of an artillery man.

At day break, on the 2d of July, a division of the enemy marched to almost within musket shot of the Portillo, and the remainder were drawn up, either to second the attack, or profit of its success, should it enter Saragossa; they silently marched towards the Portillo, while another column of infantry was ordered to advance against the gate of Carmen, on the left of the other, but both were repulsed with much loss.

The French thought that the destructive bombardment must have satisfied the Arragonese of the folly of maintaining a siege in so defenceless a city, which they thought must surrender whenever their troops got into the town, but they made a false estimate of the character of the Arragonese.

The enemy invested the place more closely, although defeated in these two attacks; they had erected a bridge over the Ebro below the town, and having passed their cavalry over to the other side, they destroyed the mills

The French demand a Capitulation.

which gave flour to the town, levied contributions, and cut off all communications of supply ; but every difficulty only inflamed the people's resentment, and called forth the resources of their active general ; he caused corn-mills worked by horses to be used in the city, and had the monks, under proper directors, employed in manufacturing gun-powder ; sulphur was put in requisition, and a regular manufactory of gun-powder was formed, which gave 352 lbs. 12 oz. per day.

The city was entirely invested by the enemy at the close of the month of July ; the great population were but scantily supplied with food, and they had little hope of succour ; for forty-six days they had been anxiously employed, their spirits exhausted, and their strength of course much weakened ; a desperate effort was made to recover the Torrero, when the Arragonese determined to conquer or perish within their walls.

The French, from their batteries on the Carmen, set on fire a foundling hospital, having the sick and wounded ; this was rapidly consumed ; the exertions of the people was almost unequalled, and none more conspicuous than the women, who continued their exertions, undaunted by the fire of the enemy and the flames of the building.

The French made a breach on the quarter of the town where the gate of Santa Eufracia is, so called, from a splendid convent and church near it ; they rushed in, and penetrated to the Calle de Cozo, almost in the centre of the town, and, before evening, were in possession of one half of Saragossa. The French General directly demanded the capitulation in these words :—

“ Quartet general, Santa Ingratia. La Capitulation*.”

* Head-Quarters, Santa Engracia. The Capitulation.

The Spaniard's determined Answer.

The Answer returned was,

"Quartet General, Saragossa. Guerra al Cuchillo.*

"PALAFOX."

The French occupied one side of the street Cozo, which is about as broad as Pall-Mall, and General Verdier gave his orders from the Franciscan Convent. The Arragonese kept their position on the opposite side, and had their batteries within a few paces of those of the French; the intermediate space was soon filled up with the dead, either thrown out of the windows, or killed below.

This enormous increase of the dead annoyed Don Joseph Palafox more than any thing else, and he dreaded the disorders which must arise from it; the expedient used was, to push forward French prisoners, with a rope fastened to them, to bring in the bodies of their countrymen for burial; by this means the evil from the corruption of the dead was in some degree lessened; night was the principal time for attack; covered by the night, the French and Arragonese often dashed across the street, and furiously attacked each others batteries; these were so close that a Spaniard crept from his own side, and fastened a rope to one of the French cannon; but this broke, and they lost their prize, when they had made sure of it.

The ammunition of the Arragonese began to fail, but they were not dismayed; as the general rode through the people he heard them exclaim, that if their ammunition

* Head-Quarters, Saragossa. War, even to the knife.

The knife is a formidable weapon in the hands of an Arragonese, in close combat.

The Women very useful to the Men.

failed, they would attack the enemy with their knives; at this time a reinforcement of 3000 men entered the city unexpectedly, under the command of the general's brother.

A council of war resolved, that the city should be defended as firmly as ever; should the enemy at last prevail, the people were to retire across the Ebro to the suburbs, destroy the bridge, and defend the suburbs till they perished. This the people received with loud applauses.

Dreadful combats were continued for eleven days from street to street, and house to house, until the enemy were only left about one-eighth of the city.

The curate of one of the parishes was a remarkable character in this siege; as the general made his rounds he often saw him acting the part of the priest and the soldier, at one time administering the sacrament, at another fighting bravely against the enemy. The commander in chief had much confidence in him; if any thing difficult was to be done, Sass (this was his name) was selected, and a supply of powder was brought in by him at the head of forty of the bravest men in the place; he was so useful that the general made him a captain in the army, and his own chaplain.

The women admirably assisted the spirit of the men; a corps of these was formed for the relief of the wounded, and to carry provisions and wine to the soldiers; the loss of women and boys during the siege was very great; it was difficult to bring them to a sense of their danger.

The French fire was very destructive on the night of the 13th of August, and many of the buildings in their possession were seen to be in flames; on the morning of

The French evacuate Saragossa.

the 14th their columns were, to the astonishment of the Arragonese, seen going across the plain to Pamplona.

Thus ended the siege of Saragossa, which, from all circumstances, can be looked on as second to none recorded in ancient or modern history.

General Palafox issued a proclamation to the Arragonese, whom he stiles "Conquerors of the haughty French." They have, he says, proved themselves worthy of their name; the multitude of proud warriors, who were victorious in every other part of Europe, did not retain the character of conquerors when they came before them; their victory has been glorious; their loss is about 2000, and as many wounded; but this is no loss to the triumph they have obtained; the enemy is rash, and will give them many opportunities to shew their skill and courage; if Murat and the lawless band who violate Madrid should venture to approach, they would meet them half way; the conquest they have effected has been sanguinary, yet glorious; he bids them consider it as a trifling commencement of their future triumphs.

The Junta of Bayonne were actively employed in settling the new constitution which was submitted to them.

By the first article, the Catholic religion is to be that of Spain, and none other tolerated.

That Prince Joseph Napoleon is King of Spain and the Indies, and the crown is hereditary in the male issue. The next articles relate to the government, the property of the crown, which is to consist of the royal palace of Madrid, the Escorial, St. Ildefonso, Aranjuez, d'El Pardo, and others, with their parks, woods, and domains; the salaries to the Royal Family are also settled, the king's sons at twelve years old shall have—the heir-

New Regulations passed by the Junta.

apparent 200,000 piasters, each infanto 100,000, and each infanta 50,000. The officers of the royal household, their titles and rank are settled; then the organization of the Senate and the Cortes come next; the article on the latter subject is of much length, and states the income those must have who are members of it. They next direct their attention to the Spanish colonies, and the deputies to be given by them; then the administration of justice, the finances, and concludes with general regulations. In the latter it is stated that there shall be a permanent alliance between France and Spain; the habitation of every Spaniard is a sanctuary, and can only be entered in the day-time by legal authority, and with an order; no one can be held in confinement without his crime being registered; the freedom of the press to be regulated within two years, and the Cortes to pass a law respecting it.

Many other things were submitted to the Junta by order of his new Catholic Majesty, to relieve his subjects from what had proved hurtful to agriculture and discouraging to the husbandman; of this kind were the tax of four marvedies on each quart of wine, and three per cent. on all produce subject to tithes. His Majesty was anxious, however, that this should be seriously considered by the Junta, that the Spaniards should judge what they might expect from the Monarch and the Junta.

The Junta, after a due examination, decreed to represent to his Majesty, that the abolition of these two taxes would be a great benefit, as they were of little use, and collected with much trouble. A deputation, with the Duke del Infantado at their head, waited on the King in the name of the Junta, to express their gratitude, and he assured them he only wished the happiness of Spain. He

Convention between England and Sweden.

soon after made many appointments ; he named the different ministers, the captains of the body guards, and colonels of the guards, who were all grandees of Spain. He also appointed five grandees as his chamberlains, to attend him on his Journey.

CHAPTER CVIII.

WE shall now request our reader's attention to the North of Europe ; we have taken notice of the consequences of the treaty of Tilsit on the sovereigns included in that convention.

His Swedish Majesty's conduct, in regarding as he did the British attack on Copenhagen, soon afforded a pretence for the hostile movements of the Emperor of Russia and King of Denmark towards him ; while England thought she had an opportunity to unite her resources with Sweden for the deliverance of Europe.

His Britannic Majesty and the King of Sweden entered into a convention, by which it was agreed that Britain should pay the King of Sweden the sum of 1,200,000*l.* by equal payments of 100,000*l.* per month, to pay a greater number of Swedish troops than the kingdom could maintain, and to equip its flotilla, and what of the navy might be thought necessary.

It was also agreed by a separate article in the treaty, that Great Britain shall send into the Baltic such force as

The Emperor of Russia claims the Assistance of Sweden.

may be necessary, whenever the war between Sweden and Russia, or Denmark should take place; and it declares, that no truce should be entered into unless by mutual consent.

A Russian army of nearly 40,000 men went without interruption to Helsingfor, shortly after this treaty was concluded. His Swedish Majesty was not fully informed of this hostile movement and invasion of his states before the Emperor of Russia issued a declaration.

He states that, being indignant at the violence offered to the King of Denmark by England, he had notified to the King of Great Britain, that he could not be insensible to this conduct against his kinsman, and the ancient ally of Russia; he also imparted this resolution to the King of Sweden.

It was agreed between the Emperor Paul and the present King of Sweden, that the "Baltic is an enclosed sea," and that all acts of hostility committed on its coasts were to be resisted by the contracting parties. His Imperial Majesty claimed the assistance of Sweden against England, for what that power had done to Denmark; this his Swedish Majesty refused, till the armies of France had left the shores of the Baltic, and the German ports were opened to English vessels.

His Imperial Majesty delivered a second note to the same purpose, but without effect. The Emperor took every means in his power to make his Majesty of Sweden return to a system interesting to his states; but while the Russian notes remained unanswered, the King of Sweden was privately negotiating a treaty with England; he therefore thinks his empire would be in a state of hazard while the King of Sweden, his neighbour, thus favoured the designs of England; he cannot allow of the neutrality

The Russian Proclamation in Finland.

of Sweden, but will use all his means to preserve the welfare of his empire, and this he publicly makes known to his Swedish Majesty, and to all Europe; he is, however, ready to change his plan, if his Swedish Majesty will join the cause of Russia and Denmark, and exclude the British from the Baltic till a general peace.

This was explained as a declaration of war, by the march of Russian troops into Finland, and Count Buxhoveden, general in chief of the Russian army, issued a crafty proclamation to the inhabitants of Finland.

He says, that his Imperial Master with great sorrow finds himself under the necessity to order his troops to enter their country; for this he is the more sorry, as he recollects the confidence of the Fins in the protection of Russia, at the beginning of the last war, when the King of Sweden made an irruption upon his frontiers. The conduct of his present Swedish Majesty inclines him strongly to make a closer alliance with the enemy of general tranquillity, whose oppressive measures his Imperial Majesty cannot look on with indifference; for this reason, and what he owes to the security of his own dominions, he is forced to take their country under his protection, in order to ensure himself due satisfaction, should his Royal Swedish Majesty not accept the just conditions of peace offered to him by the Emperor of the French, through his Imperial Russian Majesty, to restore the blessings of peace, at all times his first attention; he bids them remain quiet; they come as friends and protectors, to make them more happy; desires them not to suffer themselves to be seduced to take up arms, or treat his troops in a hostile manner; those who offend must charge themselves with what they suffer, while those who join his Majesty's care for the welfare of the country, may

Continuation of the Proclamation.

be certain of his favour and protection; their ancient laws and customs are to be in full force, and to continue undisturbed, while his troops remain in the country, and all officers, both civil and military, are ordered to conform themselves to them accordingly; payment to be made for all the troops may require; several magazines are to be formed, so that the most indigent inhabitants shall be supplied in common with his Majesty's troops. Deputies are to be sent to the city of Abo, to adopt such measures as the welfare of the country demands. Finland is to be treated the same as the other conquered provinces of Russia, which remain in happiness and peace, and in full possession of the freedom of religious worship, and all their rights and privileges; the taxes to the crown to be unaltered, and the pay of all public officers to continue on the ancient footing.

He at the same time issued a short address to the soldiers in Finland; after stating that his Majesty has thought it right, for the protection of the Fins, to order his troops to enter Finland, he assures them of his Majesty's gracious sentiments towards the inhabitants of the country, and the soldiers in particular; their fate is to be lamented more than that of other Fins, as they must leave all they hold dear to fight in an unjust cause; those who choose to lay down their arms shall be at liberty to return home, and receive a stated allowance for their muskets, swords, and horses; he trusts they will all accept these favourable testimonies of the Emperor's care.

The entrance of the Russian troops into Finland, and the proclamations we have just noticed, were already made known to his Swedish Majesty, though M. Alopeus, the Russian envoy, said nothing of the ideas of his Court; no despatches had arrived from the Swedish ambassador

The Emperor of Russia issues a second Declaration.

since these events had taken place ; the Russian envoy being looked on as deprived of his public quality by the aggressions of his Court, as a dangerous enemy, and a hostage for the safety of the Swedish minister at Petersburg, his arrest was ordered.

This measure was, however, though harsh, justified by what followed soon after ; a courier from Petersburg was intercepted, with despatches from that Court to its minister at Stockholm, and gave his Swedish Majesty no doubt of the Emperor Alexander's perfidious policy ; in one of the intercepted letters from Count Romanzoff to M. Alopeus, he states that Baron Armfeldt, dissatisfied with his treatment from the King of Sweden, he fancied he might be wrought on, as he is not a Swede, but a native of Finland, to desert the Swedish Court, and the Russian minister was to hold out the most flattering temptations to him, to induce him to agree to this.

The King, however, had too high an opinion of Baron Armfeldt to pay any attention to this treachery. In another letter from Count Romanzoff to the Russian minister at Copenhagen, intercepted at the same time, he observes, " that he will not make known the Emperor's declaration to the Swedish envoy till the courier has gone some days ; but he will communicate it confidentially to the Baron de Blome, that the King of Denmark may feel how much his Majesty is interested in his favour."

When the Emperor of Russia got intelligence that his ambassador at Stockholm was arrested, he issued a second declaration, stating his indignation at the violence offered against the dignity of his crown, by detaining the Russian embassy at Stockholm, an act unprecedented, except by Turkey ; he might use reprisals, but he has

Count Klingspor's masterly Retreat.

given directions to his ministers to pay every attention to the Swedish ambassador, who is still at Petersburgh, and if he is inclined to depart nothing unpleasant should delay him.

His Majesty acquaints all the European powers, that he looks on Swedish Finland as a conquered province, and incorporates it with his empire.

The King of Sweden's army, which he sent to defend Finland, was commanded by Count Klingspor, a general of great talents. Buxhovden thought to prevail on him to betray his master by bribery, but Klingspor was steadfast; he did not answer his communications, but properly sent them to Stockholm; yet, though the Swedes stood all corruption, they were not able to oppose the attacks of their enemies; Buxhovden took Abo, the capital of Finland, about a month after he invaded that province; he entered it in a very formal manner, and the province was incorporated solemnly with the Russian monarchy. Biomeberg, a place of strength, was likewise captured; here the Swedish army had a considerable loss. When this was taken, and Abo in the hands of the Russians, Count Klingspor was forced to retreat. The Russians hoped to cut off the retreat of Klingspor, by outflanking the Swedes, and a column under General Tutschkow strove to do this; but Klingspor's skill and activity, though with inferior numbers, and before an army amply provided, with the assistance of some French engineers, defeated their intention; his retreat was continued more than 400 English miles, through a country almost without roads, and covered with deep snow; he saved not only his army, but his magazines, stores, and ammunition, and united his exhausted troops, who were much weakened by the constant skirmishing on the retreat,

Sweaborg surrenders to the Russians.

with a body of Swedes under Count Cronstadt. The Russians, not being able to cut off Klingspor, retired towards the South of Finland.

They next attacked Sweaborg, a very strong place, which, from its natural position, and its works, has been looked on as the Gibraltar of the North; they began to bombard it in the beginning of April, but did no mischief of any consequence to the fortress or private houses; few of the garrison were killed or wounded, and but little of the ammunition had been used, when the Swedish Governor listened to terms of capitulation.

These conditions, and the short and inadequate defence he made, exposed the governor to suspicions of treachery; or, at least, it involved him in charges of weakness or want of ability. By the first article he agrees to give up the fortress, if no assistance arrives within a month, by at least five sail of the line, while he did not state his situation either to the commander of the Swedish army, or the minister of war at Stockholm. He also agrees to the proclamations published by Buxhovden, though plainly meant to draw the Fins from their allegiance to Sweden, as it is said, that those who enter into the service of his Imperial Majesty shall enjoy all the benefits mentioned in those proclamations.

He also agrees to surrender the shipping in the harbour, thus taking away the means of getting off the garrison, and consents that those who reach Sweden shall not serve against Russia or her allies. There was also a curious article relative to the Swedish flotilla, which was very numerous, and comprised some of the best gallies; it states, that this flotilla is to be restored to Sweden, according to a return, after the conclusion of a peace, if England restores the Danish fleet she took last year.

Armistice between the Swedes and Russians.

His Swedish Majesty could not conceal his indignation at the conduct of the governor of Sweaborg, which he declared was sufficient to render him, and all who took part in the shameful capitulation, undeserving the character of liege men, as they have abused his confidence, and acted contrary to orders; and all who did not resist it, were to be dismissed from his Majesty's service.

The Russians advanced into the North of Finland after the surrender of Sweaborg; they committed the most wanton and atrocious cruelties. Buxhovden, under pain of death, forbade the people of Finland to retreat with the Swedish army. The Swedes could for a little while act on the defensive, and drove the Russians back towards the South; but these successes were only of a temporary nature. The Russian army being more distressed from want of provisions than by the partial victories gained over them, were recruited from the most fertile parts of the province bordering on Russia, and advanced against the Swedes in great force.

After having acted the part of an able and skilful general, Klingspor was at last compelled to conclude an armistice; and it was agreed, that hostilities in Finland should be suspended, and not renewed without eight days notice. An exchange of prisoners was also agreed on. The King of Sweden found himself in an awkward situation; he expected from his army more than they could perform.

The Russians were more numerous, and were supplied from their own country oftener than the Swedes. As his Swedish Majesty had set an example of courage, and never shrunk from the duties of his station as a soldier and a monarch, he claimed a display of courage and resolution on the part of his troops.

His displeasure against the guards was very great; they were composed chiefly of the sons of the people of some note in the country, but refusing to engage an enemy superior to them in numbers, they were doomed to be broke, and not less than 4000 were forced to submit to this disgrace. The King was therefore compelled to agree to the Armistice.

He was not more successful against Norway; his army at first repulsed the unprepared Norwegians, and advanced beyond the frontiers; but when the peasantry united to the regular troops, the Swedes were driven out of the country, and such passes in the mountains secured as enabled them to repel the enemy's future irruption.

The British Government sent Sir John Moore, with 14,000 men, to assist the Swedes in this state of difficulty; but from some causes, not generally known, they returned to England without having been of any service.

It is said, that some difference arose between his Swedish Majesty and the British commander, about the employment of the troops. The King wanted the total direction of the British troops, to employ them in a way which the English General imagined to be contrary to his instructions; he refused to comply, saying his Britannic Majesty had appointed him Commander in Chief, and he would resign it to no other person on earth. The King of Sweden said, that the powers given him by the British were superior to those claimed by the General; who replied, if his Majesty would condescend to produce them, they should be punctually obeyed.

The King was so much enraged, that he ordered him to be arrested, but the General escaped. An English messenger was at Stockholm, and his cart was waiting a little way from the city; to this General Moore got ac-

The Russian Fleet retreats into Port.

cess, dressed as a private gentleman. In this way he arrived at Gottenburgh, after an astonishing short journey of 46 hours. Having ascertained at his apartments that his papers had been carried safe on board the Victory, he went on board that ship, disguised as he was.

The British squadron sent into the Baltic was more serviceable to Sweden, than Sir John Moore's army. The Russian fleet of 13 sail of the line, and frigates, were seen on the 25th of August by the Swedish Admiral, who had with him two British line of battle ships; they were pursued, and the British ships sailed superior to the Swedes; in the evening the Russian squadron was seen in disorder, evidently trying to avoid an action; the next morning the Implacable brought one of the enemy's vessels to a close engagement, while the Russian Admiral in vain endeavoured to bear up, and with all his force repel the attack of the English; the Russian ship was silenced after a gallant fight of twenty minutes; a Russian frigate took her in tow, but was obliged to cast off the rope; every thing was done to bring the Russians to action, but they fled, and took refuge in the port of Rogerswick. The ship which had been disabled in the engagement with the Implacable, went aground at the entrance of the harbour; she was attacked by Sir Samuel Hood, and after an obstinate resistance was forced to surrender; he took the prisoners out of her, and was compelled to set her on fire.

The Russians were very busy in defending themselves when they got into Rogerswick; they removed the cannon from their vessels and disembarked the artillery they had brought from Revel. The British Admiral had hopes he might take the port and fleet, but seeing the fortifications, he thought it prudent to raise the blockade.

The King of Sweden writes to the Emperor of Russia.

While the British Admiral was thinking of the capture of the Russian squadron, the King of Sweden, then in Finland, wrote a letter to the Emperor of Russia, in which he remonstrated strongly against the cruelty of his army in Finland; he endeavours to excite in Alexander's mind the impolicy of such conduct, which he declares must raise the greatest aversion to the Russian name, by punishing the inhabitants of Finland for their loyalty to their lawful sovereign, and taking them from their duty, he was acting against his own interest, and shaking the foundation of his throne; he then alludes to the state of the Imperial fleet, which may probably never leave the port of Rogerswick but as a conquest.

Alexander did not regard this letter; he was too much under the influence of Bonaparte to act for himself, or consult the voice of reason; it was also thought that he was more united to the interest of France, by the meeting between these two sovereigns at Erfurth.

Alexander sent fresh orders to his generals to renew the war in Finland; at first the Swedes were successful, but the Russian army had received reinforcements of 20,000 men and 60 pieces of cannon, while the Swedes were reduced to 7,000; in this state they were forced to open a negociation, which the Russians most readily agreed to, indeed, much more readily than could have been expected from the great advantages they possessed. A convention was then settled and agreed upon, and ratified by the two contracting powers.

This convention principally related to the different positions in which the armies were, and that to be taken by the Swedes, and what they were to evacuate; all they gave up to the Russians was to be so done in ten days; the route for their retreat was laid down, and what they

The new King of Spain issues a Proclamation.

could not carry away was to be left as good and lawful prize; they were not to destroy or sell the magazines, and to send back every person belonging to the places they evacuate, if those persons wish it. This was signed by Baron Aldercruz and Count Kamenski.

CHAPTER CIX.

THE Junta of Bayonne having settled the new constitution of Spain his new Catholic Majesty went on to choose his ministers, and fill up the posts in the civil and military departments of the state; those chosen for this purpose were from the most ancient families of the grandees, and many seemed not averse to accept what was thus allotted to them. The new King, when he entered the Spanish territories ordered a proclamation to be issued to the Spaniards: in this, he says, that on entering the territories of a people confided to him by Providence, he feels it his duty to explain his sentiments; he relies on finding some who will second his efforts to restore this people to their ancient splendour; the constitution which they are about to swear to, secures their holy religion and their civil and political freedom; it establishes a national representation, and restores the Cortes in a better form. The courts of Justice shall be free and independent; merit and virtue shall be the only claims to hold public

Received with great Honour at different Places.

offices ; commerce and agriculture shall flourish ; he will himself give an example of the honour which ought to be paid to the laws ; he comes among them with the greatest confidence, surrounded by their country's friends ; he bids them unite round his throne, and so conduct themselves that internal disturbances shall not deprive him of the time he wishes to employ in labouring for their happiness.

His Majesty was received and greeted with public rejoicings at every place he arrived at ; he received the congratulations of the magistrates of the different towns he passed through ; when he reached Burgos, a triumphal arch was erected at the entrance of the city by which he came ; the garrison was drawn up in the street, and the windows richly decorated ; several richly fitted up chargers were ready in case his Majesty chose to enter on horseback ; he gave audience to the Archbishop, the chapter, Intendant Corregidor, the Consulate, and a number of persons resident in the city and its neighbourhood ; he took up his residence at the Archbishop's palace, and soon after the levee he went to see the cathedral ; there he was received under a canopy with all the solemnities observed with respect to royal personages. He reached the capital in the evening of the 26th, and was received with every mark of loyalty and respect ; the ringing of bells and firing of cannon, announced his arrival ; the troops were under arms, and shouts of " Long live the King," resounded through the air ; the city was ordered to be illuminated for three nights in honour of his public entry. The Royal Council of Castile praised the moderate views of the new King, who made a distinction between the revenue of the crown and that of the state.

Proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies with great Pomp.

The Supreme Council of the Indies took the oath of fidelity, and their President pronounced an elegant discourse on the occasion; he enlarged on what Spain would enjoy through their new Sovereign, in preserving their independence without yielding those cessions of territory which France had before required of them.

Great pains were taken by the magistrates of Madrid to contradict a report that a conscription was to take place; his Majesty assured them, that, so far from even thinking of a conscription, he was rejoiced that the close connection with France made such a step quite unnecessary, and he looked forward to the time when, secure of the affections of his people, he would need no other protection. The magistrates then cautioned the people to pay no attention to those who thus sought to disturb them, and advised them to confide in their new monarch.

Joseph Bonaparte was proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies with great pomp. Immense crowds of people from the city and its environs collected to witness the ceremony; the greatest order prevailed; the theatres were opened gratis in the evening, and the people went there in crowds, but without riot or disorder. His Majesty made several appointments, and added fourteen members to the Council of State. He did not, however, long remain quiet in his capital; when he heard that General Dupont and his army had surrendered prisoners of war to General Castanos, and that the latter was marching towards Madrid, he retired to Burgos. The cause of his removal he gave out was the excessive heat of the season; he was therefore induced to assemble his troops, and place them in a cooler climate, and where they might be supplied with better water; he began to prepare for his departure on the evening of the 27th,

He leaves Madrid which is plundered.

having put in requisition all the carriages and horses that were in Madrid, for the conveyance of his army ; but his journey was delayed till the 31st, from the absence of most of the attendants of the royal carriages, and he departed on horseback ; the gates of the public treasury and the bank were forced open by the French on the same evening, and plundered of all their treasure ; it is said, that upwards of 14,000,000 of dollars were taken out of the buildings ; the regalia and plate belonging to the crown were taken by him ; 70 pieces of cannon were also spiked, and 2000 barrels of gun-powder thrown into the water.

The patriots, mean while, were getting fresh courage from their partial victories over the French ; a battle took place on the 14th of July between the French and Spanish armies, near Valladolid, which lasted from eight in the morning till half past twelve at noon ; the French force was 10,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry and artillery, and plenty of cannon ; the Patriots were 14,000 infantry, 800 cavalry, 26 pieces of cannon, and a body of peasantry. The ardour of the new levies of the Patriots could not be restrained, they fell in upon the French, and drove them, taking four pieces of cannon, which they spiked ; the country, however, being open, the Patriots could not keep their advantage ; they retreated, however, in good order to Benevente, leaving behind them 13 pieces of cannon. The French had suffered so much that they could not pursue the Spaniards or enter Rio Seco for four hours after the battle.

If the Patriots had been moderated there is no question but they would in the end have defeated the French, though their want of cavalry was much against them. General Blake had so signalized himself in this business,

The Bishop of Andero heads a Force.

that Marshal Bessieres marked him as one proper to be won to his side; every bait was held out to him, but he could not be prevailed on to betray his trust. To the letters addressed to him by Bessieres he replied in cool language, and displayed a great firmness of mind.

When the Spanish insurrection first took place, the Patriots had secured most of the sea-ports in the Bay of Biscay, to preserve their communication with England; the Bishop of Andero, with great heroism came forward to support his countrymen in their struggle for independence, and set them an example of patriotism. Through the bishop's exertions a numerous body of men were raised, who, with him at their head, marched to meet the enemy. His object was to disperse or destroy all the detached French troops stationed near the sea-port towns on the Bay of Biscay; for a time he was successful, but as the French knew the importance of getting possession of these parts, both to annoy the patriots, and to assist the transport along the coast of their own supplies, a body of troops were sent from Bayonne, who took possession of St. Andero; they did not, however, keep it long, being afraid of an attack from General de Ponti, who was marching to its relief with 10,000 men. The French detachment evacuated the town more hastily than they entered it; but before their departure they pillaged the inhabitants.

The most formidable body of French troops in Spain was that which, under Marshal Moncey, marched towards Valencia. The inhabitants of this province, though not inferior to their countrymen in patriotism or courage, could not raise a force sufficient to stop the progress of the French.

Valencia offers a strong barrier against invasion, and

The French repulsed at Valencia.

chiefly on the side by which the French general approached. Some troops of the line, and some Valencians, occupied these barriers. The army of Murcia took such a position as would enable them to protect their own province, and support the Valencians. Moncey, however, got over the mountains that defend the province, and advanced to the city of Valencia. The Junta established in the city, when they knew of the advance of the French, took means for its preservation; they gave orders that the inhabitants should repair to the gate of Quarte, which the enemy seemed principally to mark for their attack. After the Spanish general had made a vain attempt to check the enemy, they advanced towards the city, and sent a flag of truce, offering protection to persons and property if they were allowed quietly to occupy the city; the people were resolved to defend themselves and oppose the enemy; the French prepared for the attack, which, for the good luck of the Spaniards, was chiefly against the gate they had so strongly fortified; they were drawn up in front of the gate, and the patriots destroyed a great number with little danger to themselves; when the gate was thrown open a dreadful fire began from the people from a 24-pounder, which did great execution among the French, that they were forced to discontinue that mode of attack. In the evening they again attacked the city in another quarter, but with no success; 2500 of the enemy were killed near the walls, exclusive of numbers who fell in the fields; they continued to retreat towards Acia, but were pursued by a body of 14,000 men. A large body of the patriots placed themselves in the mountains of Novella, with three eight pounders, and the French were attacked in front and rear; almost all the French were destroyed in an action fought near

The Duke of Berg withdraws his Troops from Madrid.

Valencia, except 2 or 300 horse who escaped; General Moncey was wounded in the arm; 100 French prisoners were brought to Valencia, who, with others, were sent to Carthagena; but few Spaniards were killed in the attack upon Valencia, though before that their loss was great, in particular at Las Cabrillos, where 700 Swiss, and almost all the regiment of Savoy, were cut to pieces; the French loss in this action was 3000 men; even the women, as well as the clergy, were very useful in the defence of Valencia, the former made cartridges and collected missiles of every sort to annoy the French.

This vigour and patriotism excited an emulation in the minds of the inhabitants of Madrid, and though they were much depressed by the influence of the Junta of Castile and Murat's army, they felt their inactive condition. The Grand Duke of Berg, aware of the effects which the efforts of the Patriots had upon the people of Madrid, withdrew his forces from the Capital, and placed them on the Retiro, a hill at a little distance, but commanding enough to protect him from a sudden attack, and enable him to subdue the city.

When King Joseph and the French army quitted Madrid, the Council of Castile took the government; this Council sanctioned the authority of the new Monarch, and therefore did not enjoy much of the people's confidence; to do away any ill impression they issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the capital, and sent a letter to each provincial government in the kingdom; the proclamation expressed a confidence that the people would not judge harshly of the conduct of their fellow citizens; if there are traitors to their Sovereign and their country in the supreme tribunal they will endeavour to detect them; but the people of Madrid should be more

Proclamation of the Council of Castile.

on their guard against those, and there are many of them, who strive to grow rich by the plunder of their countrymen; the city should be cleared of these; while the other parts of Spain were exerting their patriotism the capital was subject to the most dreadful calamities, but it could now recover its tranquillity. The Council of Castile assured them, that a fair statement would exonerate them from treachery or cowardice; they were placed in an awkward situation; many by fraud or force led beyond the limits of Spain; yet, at a distance and unsupported, they had preserved their loyalty to their lawful Sovereign; they address the armies in a very animating manner, conjuring them to repair to Madrid for its protection, and they will be received with gratitude and joy; they call on the people to place confidence in their magistrates, who will effectually punish those guilty of excesses.

It would appear from their proclamation, that the Council of Castile was afraid the people might reject their authority, as they appeared to submit to the ruling power of France; their letters to the provincial Juntas displayed the same humble spirit; they profess their steady attachment and their loyalty to their Sovereign, and declare that they had refused to recognize the King whom perfidy had designed for them; the Council of Castile was therefore assured that the provincial Juntas would be convinced of the purity of their principles, and of their determination to support their Sovereign and his rights; they will confine themselves to a plan on the part of the civil government which it would cordially agree with, namely, that deputies from it, and all the Juntas should confer on this subject, and that what they determine on may be carried into effect as soon as possible.

The Council of Castile were not alarmed without rea-

Manifesto of the Junta of Seville.

son, that the provincial Juntas would not give that confidence to men who had acted under the idea of selfish caution, when the interest of the country was at stake; the Junta of Galicia, and some others, stated their resolution to abide by that of Seville, who, by their skill and judgment, had gained the esteem of the kingdom. Still, a Junta to act in behalf of Spain must necessarily be called, and though Madrid might not be thought the proper place for its assembling, being so near the enemy, yet it was the most convenient place.

Before the Junta of Seville gave up their functions they issued an important manifesto; they begin it by observing, "that the defence of every thing they held dear, had been trodden down and violated by the Emperor of the French, who had made the nation arm itself, and choose a form of government suited to its dangers; Supreme Juntas had been established, and the fate of Spain was in their hands.

The provinces have armed themselves, and are fighting against the French for their King, Ferdinand VIIth. with the greatest valour; dissension among themselves can alone weaken their strength; the Supreme Junta communicated their precautions to all the provinces of Spain in every possible manner; they say, that various causes may assist the designs of the enemy, and may entirely ruin Spain; but it is their duty to guard against this, and they are ready to amend their errors when they shall be proved to have committed any; a sure way to avoid the evils of disunion was to avoid all conversation about the succession to the crown of Spain; the Cortes of 1789 settled this; it is therefore dangerous to dispute about the succession, and the provinces should be satisfied with the general expression, "Hereditary succes-

sion according to the fundamental laws of the monarchy."

But another question relating to the forming a supreme government was agitated by the different Juntas, which might unite the sovereign authority till Ferdinand was restored ; the Supreme Junta approved of this, declaring that such a government was wanting to the security of the state, and that the country might be ruined without it ; in this they were not singular, various Juntas had expressed their belief of this truth ; there must be a civil government, to which the military may be subordinate ; Spain has received a lesson from times past ; she has never thought of a military ruler.

But who are to compose this supreme civil government ? Where shall it reside ? How far its authority ? How can public opinion be regulated, so that tranquillity shall be preserved ? These are serious questions, which we shall examine impartially. The Council of Castile never assembled the Cortes ; then why should it now have a power it never did possess ? Is it that it gave every power to the enemy to rule Spain, to destroy the succession to the crown, to seat a foreigner on the throne, who had not even the shadow of a title to it ? for the renunciation of Charles certainly gave him none. This council then being shut out from consideration, the authority to convoke the Cortes is a part of the King's prerogative, the provinces would not submit to any other power.

When the people found the kingdom without a government, they assumed the power of appointing one ; the supreme power is therefore deposited in the Juntas formed by the people, and they govern with authority. The supreme Juntas have the right of electing those to com-

Population of Spain.

pose the supreme government, to protect the kingdom; and they will surely elect people out of their own body, for it is in them the people have placed their sole confidence; thus no supreme government can be lawful, unless it originates with the people. The Supreme Juntas should therefore elect two deputies from themselves for the supreme government, and the persons so elected should be actually looked on as Governors General of the Kingdom, and obeyed and acknowledged as such.

The Supreme Junta should fix a place for the seat of government, far from the dangers of war, and which should possess local advantages. The manifesto of the Junta of Seville concluded by refuting the falsehoods which they had been attacked with, and by appealing to their country.

Though Spain has many enlightened characters, yet it is full of those who, under the mistaken idea of religious zeal, are ready to commit all excesses; at least one third of the kingdom is in the hands of the secular clergy, who, equally indolent and ignorant, exercise complete authority over the lower order of people.

A numerous body of monks atone for their rigid celibacy by every sort of debauchery; the conscience by absolution becomes reconciled, as it is said, to "theoretic piety and practical vice united in strong bonds."

Spain is supposed to contain 11,000,000 of people; but Feyjoy, a Spanish writer, estimates the population at only 9,250,000; it leaves about 76 inhabitants to a square mile, while France gives 178, and England 169. This defect in a country, at one time so populous, is ascribed to two causes, the emigrations to America, and the indolence of the natives. From the returns made to govern-

 State of the Spanish Clergy.

ment some few years ago the Spanish clergy stood as follows :—

Parochial clergy	16,689
Assistants	5,771
Sextons, (Sacristans)	10,873
Acolitos, (those who assist at the altar)	5,503
Ordinadas de Patrimonio, having a patrimony of three reals a-day	13,244
Ordinadas de Minores, with inferiors	10,774
Canons of Cathedrals, called Beneficiados	23,692
Monks	61,617
Nuns	32,500
Beatas	1,130
Syndics, persons who collect for the mendicants	4,127
Inquisitors	2,705
Total,	188,625

There are eight archbishops and 46 bishops ; the richest is that of Toledo, supposed to be worth at least 100,000*l.* annually. The ecclesiastics, and those holding offices under the church in Spain are, as about one to fifty-eight ; and yet, with all this host of clergy, it is allowed, that there is as little true religion in Spain as in any country under heaven.

The credulity of the Spaniards is almost beyond belief, their superstition in the faith of their saints is almost incredible ; every ship that sails from Catalonia is under the protection of some patron ; the miracles performed by our Lady in Montserrat are innumerable. The insurance companies in the American war had each their favourite saint, as San Ramon de Penaforte, La Virgen de la Mercean, and others, named in every policy of insu-

rance, and having enacted their dividend, they were of opinion that they could not possibly lose ; in this belief, about the year 1799, they insured the French West India-men at 50 per cent. when the English and Dutch refused it at any price. All the insuring companies but two were ruined by this. It is known that the Spanish Government is the most despotic in Europe ; no grandee can be arrested without the King's order ; the Cortes, which formerly had great privileges, are now abolished, and no vestige of liberty in favour of the people is now found to exist in this once free country.

As we have noticed in a former chapter the partial success of the Patriots, in their actions with the French, we will pay some attention to the statements made by order of the Emperor of France, on those military matters.

The English faction has been much blamed for promoting that revolt so common in Spain. Bonaparte has ascribed to this the wish of the Spaniards to throw off their alliance with France, and has attributed to them all the disorders that have come to the Spanish monarchy.

Miracles, they observe, were solemnly proclaimed at Saragossa, Valladolid, Valentia, Seville, &c. which were most cordially believed by a great number of people. A party on the coast, who had long hated France, raised the people to join England, and procure the freedom of commerce, while they affected to share in the errors which the vulgar were inflamed by. Fatal disorders sprung from this ; the head of the Councillor of State, Don Miguel Saavedra, Captain General of Valencia, was placed on a pike, and taken through the streets, and at last placed on the top of a pillar ; the Marquis d'Enerva, threatened with the same fate, fortunately escaped the fury of the people.

A French ship, chased by an English frigate, sought protection in a Spanish port ; the crew were, however, imprisoned, and in a rage put to death. The Junta complained of the author of these crimes, and called him by the name of Balthazar Calbo, an attendant on the altar. The corregidor and intendant at Cuenca were taken away by the tumultuous peasantry, who pillaged the houses of these two magistrates, and treated their families most cruelly. The Governor of Carthagená was put to death, who had long enjoyed the people's esteem. General Truxillos, Governor of Málaga, was put to death by the people of Grenada ; they dragged his body through the streets, cut it in pieces, and afterwards burned it. The French consul at Algeiras was imprisoned, and his head demanded by a lawless rabble, but the well disposed inhabitants prevented this atrocity. The Governor of St. Lucar was massacred by the people.

The citizens of Jaen were forced to leave their houses, the corregidor was killed, and the town plundered. A Junta of insurgents was formed at Seville, the standard of insurrection planted, and a body of soldiers from St. Roche and Cadiz repaired to it ; they murdered Count de Aguila, a worthy man as any in Seville. A captain of smugglers was made commander in chief of a body of monks, deserters, and smugglers. The corregidor of Carolina was beheaded by the people.

The colonel of the King's dragoons was shot by the peasants at Saragossa, and 33 officers.

The insurgents at Badajoz demanded to be embodied and armed, when the governor and bishop advised them to return to a state of quietness ; many among them would listen to no advice, but seized the governor, and put him

More Atrocities committed.

to death in a dreadful manner, then presented the bleeding body to his wife, while they plundered his house.

Don Miguel Cevallos, general of engineers, was thrown into prison at Valladolid, but the insurgents forced him out, hacked him to pieces before his wife and children, and carried his limbs in triumph through the town.

The house of the lieutenant-general of marine, Obreson, at Ferrol, was plundered, and that officer thrown into the prison of the place; the peasantry of Leon entered into the several cities, towns, and villages, destroying many of the most respectable burghers, among whom was the Governor of Corunna, the corregidor Leon, and Count Castro Fuerti, Colonel of the militia of Valto.

The members of the Junta of Madrid, and the ministers, used every means of making peace, but their efforts were unavailing, and they could not rule an ignorant people, who gave themselves up to plunder.

This was the state into which a bad government had thrown the Spanish nation; it was incumbent on France to repress those excesses, and strike terror into the evil minded.

Marshal Bessieres sent detachments towards Logronno, Saragossa, Segovia, Valladolid, and St. Andero, who, though not numerous, yet were successful every where.

The people of Logronno were in a state of insurrection, and chose a stone mason, a man of a bad character, for their commander; General Verdier marched there with two battalions, and put the insurgents to flight, with the loss of some artillery.

The account of the French military operations in Spain shew the false accounts published in England of the insurgents' success; it states that the French came into Spain as friends, and uniting with the ministers, the

State of the French Army in Spain.

councils, and principal burghers, did not wish to disarm the Spanish troops, and avoided hostilities for a long time, but the events have shewn that this generosity was fatal to the French.

With the solitary exception of Dupont's surrender, it seems that the French were almost universally victorious.

Bonaparte's armies in Spain and Portugal in July and August were about 100,000 men. The force under Dupont, 20,000, was in the southern division of the kingdom. The rear of the provinces of Asturias and Biscay were occupied by Bessieres and Lassalles, with more than 25,000 men; and Cuesta's defeat at Rio Seco, enabled Bessieres to march towards Portugal, to liberate Junot's force; this amounted to about 20,000 men. Some disturbances broke out in the southern parts of Navarre and Arragon. A body of 3000 men, being light troops of the first regiment of the Vistula, advanced to Tudela, under General Lefebvre, where was about 3 or 4000 men from Saragossa; he attacked them, and took six pieces of cannon; he re-built the bridge over the Ebro, which had been destroyed.

General Merlin marched against Bilboa with a force, disarmed the insurgents, and arranged the government of the provinces; the insurgents lost about 500 men, while the French had only three killed and twelve wounded. Such are the events in Spain as the French papers stated them.

Though the French troops in Spain were forced to make a retrograde motion from the defeat of Dupont, yet when they joined they did not seem disposed to retreat further. Joseph Bonaparte remained with the army, which was commanded in chief by Marshal Bessieres;

The Spaniards attack the French.

the French head-quarters were at Logronno early in September, and the Patriots were striving to unite, to force the French beyond the Pyrennes. The line of the Ebro was eagerly contended for by both, as it was capable both of attack and defence. About this time the French were perhaps 40,000 men strong, the Spaniards might be 100,000, commanded by Palafox, Castanos, and Blake. General Reding was at Guadarama. The army of Valencia and Murcia, about 24,000 men, in the beginning of October took a position near Tudela, not far from which were 20,000 Frenchmen; they strove to occupy the strongest places on the Ebro connected with their garrison at Pampluna. The Spanish generals meant, if they possibly could, to surround the enemy, or break his line and force him to a battle; the first seemed most within the scope of the Spaniards, and they tried to do it; Palafox and Blake, with the eastern and western wings pushed forward, and threw the Spanish army into a crescent, their points extending further than the enemy's flanks; while they were thus occupied, they trusted to Castanos to rout the centre of the French with their main; it was, however, soon found out that the latter much surpassed the Patriots in point of generalship, who, though they were superior in numbers, could not make any impression on the French centre, or make them retreat; they were always ready to meet the skill of their opponents, and made their schemes useless.

The French, however, were obliged to quit Burgos, which they had taken possession of to collect their forces between Vittoria and Pampluna; but in a country favoured by the numbers of rivers which intersect it, they defied the superior force and manœuvres of the Spanish generals.

Position of the two Armies.

Blake seems to have done his part of the plan, that of out-flanking the enemy's force, better than Palafox, though he was so deficient in cavalry.

The two armies were thus situated for many weeks; the French had the ocean on their right, the province of Arragon on the left, and the Ebro in their front; their object was to repel whatever attacks might be made on them, and to prevent the Spaniards from surrounding them; their forces were in October upwards of 61,000 men, so that it will appear that reinforcements must have been sent them. The Spanish army were beyond the wings of the French, who seemed to be quite in the Spaniards' power; the army of Galicia was near Bilboa, and amounted to near 8000 men; not far from that were two divisions, forming not less than 16,000 men; the city of Burgos was occupied by not less than 4000, while a small division of 3000 were at Orduna.

The van of the Gallician army, about 7000, had gone beyond Bilboa, to cut off the communication with the different French forces; they therefore, in toto, amounted to 40,000 men. The principal part of the army of Castile, about 10,000 men, was at Medina and Frias, while the van kept the left bank of the Ebro at Espejo. The armies of Arragon and Valencia were near Saragossa under Palafox, to protect that town, and act with the other two armies of Spain; that of Estramadura, about 13,000 men, was at Aranda.

Such was the state of the two armies in the middle of October. The Patriots did not wish to venture a general action, though a little time might possibly have decided the fate of Spain; this seems to have been according to the precautions issued by the Junta of Seville, which recommended harassing the enemy, as the best thing the

Proclamation of the Junta of Biscay.

Patriots could adopt ; but we shall not offer any ideas of our own on the conduct of the Spanish generals. The precautions of the Junta of Seville should have been dispensed with, when their superiority in numbers must have given them success; their observance must have interfered with the laurels of victory so easy to be reaped by the Spaniards. All the force of Spain was now collected, yet she was unwilling to use it to deliver her country from a French army. If the Patriots could not compel the retreat of the French when they had assembled their troops, what could be hoped from them when Bonaparte should come at the head of a great force, and carry on the war in person ; when, therefore the small army of 40 or 60,000 men defied the united force of the Patriots, it cannot be thought matter of surprise if many friends of the latter should feel greatly cast down at what might be the result of the winter campaign.

Some military operations occurred, though not so important to the glory of the Patriots ; the province of Biscay had been restrained from sharing in the measures of the Patriots ; whenever the enemy abandoned the capital the people of this province formed a Junta, they addressed a spirited proclamation to the Biscayans, appealing to the circumstances they had been placed in, which prevented them from offering their assistance in defence of the rights of the nation ; but the time was come when the youth of the province were crowding to the standard of patriotism, and proper chiefs would be placed at their head ; they set before them the noble deeds of their ancestors ; the defeat of the Carthaginians and Romans were looked to as examples of their former courage ; the people of Biscay could not be inactive in their country's

Report of the Minister at War to Napoléon.

cause, but would prove the descendants of those who are so honourably mentioned in history.

As soon as this address was issued Bilboa was entered by the French troops from Vittoria, amounting to 6000 infantry and 4000 cavalry; it surrendered by capitulation, but the French plundered the people; it remained in the power of the French till September, when a division of Blake's army under the Marquis Portayzo retook it; the Spaniards shewed great courage, and the French lost about 400 men. The inhabitants were quite delighted, but their joy continued but shortly; Marshal Ney directed his efforts towards the re-capture of it, and also to secure the Spanish force stationed in it, but the latter quitted the place.

General Blake, on being informed of its re-capture, advanced against it with additional force, and a detachment of his army occupied it on the 12th of October. The French retreated with little loss, and General Blake was enabled to resume a position of importance to the Patriots.

In one of the reports of the war minister of France, addressed to Napoleon, at Bayonne, he is told that Spain can never be a faithful ally to France, till the reigning houses of both countries are united; the ruling power of Spain through several causes will be a secret enemy to France; the more perfidious as affecting to be friendly only when France is victorious; she will desert her when her conquests are less certain. Spain is at war with your Majesty by her commerce with England, and her hostile proclamations; you will not then leave on the throne a Prince, who cannot free himself from the English yoke, which must oblige you to keep a large army in Spain.

If you resolve to place Charles again on the throne

Report addressed to the Emperor.

it will cost much French blood, and though the nation sheds it willingly for itself, it will not so readily do it for a foreign King, of no interest to France.

Another report remarks in a high tone, that the most rigid measures are necessary on the side of his Imperial Majesty, to preserve his authority over Spain. It states that his Majesty has been anxious to prevent the troubles in that kingdom, and acted as a mediator amidst the divided Spaniards, for the felicity of Spain; he had furnished them with a well-framed constitution; but his hopes have been deceived; English gold, the agents of the Inquisition, and numerous tribes of monks, have assisted to raise popular insurrections, which have diffused widely over the kingdom; to prevent the English flag from ruling in the ports of Spain, 200,000 brave soldiers are ready to cross the Pyrennees, and drive the English from the Peninsula. Your Majesty must begin by securing your empire in Spain; you must inflict vengeance for the outrages committed on the French name, to which so many of our countrymen have fallen; Frenchmen residing in Spain more than twenty years, and looking on it in a manner as their own country, have been destroyed; French property has every where been seized; reparation must be had equal to the glory of Frenchmen.

The English will be made to fly as at Toulon, the Helder, Dunkirk, in Sweden, and wherever the French armies met them; their expulsion from Spain will ruin their cause, will exhaust their means, and they will be desirous of peace.

France and Russia make a common cause against England; Sweden has lost her most important provinces, and is hastening to her ruin, the consequence of alliance and friendship with England.

Commutations in Portugal.

The English will abandon Spain when the war grows serious, and leave its inhabitants to a civil war.

The report then remarks, that the Court of Vienna is still faithful to her engagements with France, as she has shut her ports against England, and is in a state of hostility with her; it commends the policy of the Americans, who exist but by commerce, for their stopping all commerce before they would submit to British tribute.

It concludes by observing that the world wishes for peace, but England opposes it, and is therefore the enemy of the world; all Europe is acquainted with his Majesty's efforts to obtain peace, and the ill success of these efforts have produced those enterprises which have crowned the armies of France with victory, and leads them to hope for that honour and glory which is prepared for them.

Though the Portuguese quietly suffered the Prince Regent and the Court to remove to the Brazils, it does not seem that they were satisfied with the government which France had given them; disturbances took place in the capital and in the provinces, which were increased by what the people heard of the success of the Spaniards; with the same spirit, to free their country from the French, dissensions were more general; Junot found that his situation in Lisbon was not likely to be long quiet, as the port was blockaded by an English fleet; the horrors of a famine began to be felt; there was no trade, and nothing but those articles of the most pressing necessity could demand money, which was now so scarce; every place shewed a scene the most gloomy; the India House was shut up, and the streets of business seemed wholly deserted; in this state the populace were often excited to tumults.

Portuguese Deputies wait on the Emperor.

The Duke of Abrantes, the French Governor General of Portugal, sent deputies to the Emperor Napoleon, at Bayonne, who were most loyally submissive to his Imperial Majesty, having in their address expressed their sense of the honour laid on them as interpreters of the wishes of the Portuguese; they then say, that on their arrival on the frontiers of the French empire, they witnessed the rejoicing of the subjects of the great Napoleon, which foretold their felicity. His Majesty devoted his second day at Bayonne to them; he conversed with them most freely on the present state of affairs, made observations on what could insure our prosperity, and spoke of the rights which things had given him over the country; he observed, that the distance of Portugal from the seat of Government in France did not allow his watching over the concerns of our country, as well as he could his other subjects, and that he was aware of trusting a great power over distant countries to other hands; he spoke with some warmth of our Prince, and of his royal race; he talked of putting us in our proper place in the rank of nations, and to deliver us from the British influence under which we had so long suffered; he would endure no English colony on the continent; our fate was with ourselves, and depended on how we should act; such are the means by which his Majesty will know if you are deserving to constitute a nation.

The address, which was published, was accompanied by a proclamation from the Governor General, who told them that, doubtless, they would merit the benevolence of Napoleon, and their conduct prove them worthy of independence; he wishes to contribute to their felicity; urges them to live in quiet, and place their confidence in him.

The French General at Oporto seized.

Many deputations waited on the Duke of Abrantes, who received them on behalf of the Emperor; Count Ega, at the head of one composed of the nobility, observed that Portugal was indebted to France for some of her Kings; Prince Henry, by birth a Frenchman, was the ancestor of twelve worthy monarchs; they envied Italy being governed by Napoleon the Great, and should he become their immediate sovereign, his Majesty might rest assured of the affections of the Portuguese nobility.

The Archdeacon Miranda headed the clergy, and his praise of Napoleon was equally flattering; he says, that since the Great Monarch will give us a King, we are sure he will only give us one favourable to our religious principles.

The French might have brought the people of Lisbon more under subjection, if the Spaniards had not armed themselves so boldly against their invaders; this gave them courage, and though Junot's army intimidated them, they could but ill conceal their joy at the success of the Spanish Patriots. At Oporto they became formidable; a body of Spaniards occupied this town, who, when they heard of the insurrection in their own kingdom, would remain no longer under foreign subjugation; they seized on the French General and his staff, who had commanded them, and delivered them to Louis d'Olivera, to whom they also gave the government of the city, which the French on their arrival had taken from him.

The old governor ordered the Portuguese flag to be hoisted, and a communication was opened with an English frigate cruizing off the port; but d'Olivera did not long remain true to the cause of the Portuguese Patriots, giving himself up to the influence of Junot. On Corpus Christi day he refused to admit the Portuguese flag in

The Bishop of Oporto appointed Governor.

the order of procession, and wanted to put the French colours in place of it; this greatly incensed the populace; so much so, that although the governor offered to compromise, it had no effect, as they insisted he should resign; encouraged by the priests, the people rose in a body, armed themselves from the magazines, which they broke open, and, with the regulars, formed an enthusiastic army; from this all French authority ceased, and every Frenchman, or those suspected of being in the French interest, were directly imprisoned.

They appointed the Bishop of Oporto their governor, and 20,000 men went to meet the French, a body of which, about 300 men, under General Loison, had advanced as far as Amarante, but hearing of the great force of the insurgents, he retreated towards Lisbon.

The same spirit of resistance was shewn in all the northern provinces; but the southern were kept back, by their apprehension of the force of Junot, and by the intrigues of the French party.

These matters were looked on as favourable to restore the kingdom to the Prince Regent. The Junta of Oporto said, that love to the best of Princes had urged all hearts to oppose the most scandalous usurpation. The city of Oporto led the way, and gave the stimulus by its example to emancipate the kingdom from foreign tyranny; the day which took her Sovereign from Portugal led to the most dire events, and exposed it to those evils, which in nineteen years had ruined so many people; and all this sprung from one man, who made a traffic of kingdoms and their subjects, whom flattery and the fear of his tyranny have raised to the most elevated, yet unmerited titles; and who has said without a blush, "the house of Braganza has ceased to reign in Portugal."

Junot issues a Proclamation.

Much patriotism was shewn through Portugal at this time: numerous addresses were and full of warmth and energy; amongst other effusions of their patriotism, a singular and vehement address was published by the father of the church; it rails at Bonaparte and his means, calls him "a monster vomited out of hell, to oppress mankind," and paints his brutality, impiety, and ambition, in very plain language; History, it says, does not relate deeds such as Europe sees in these days; they desire the people to be united, to have courage to continue the glorious actions they have begun; to confide in the government they have chosen, and their children after them will have to repeat, Long live their Prince! Long live Portugal! Honour, valour, and Portuguese loyalty!

When Junot was told of the proceedings at Oporto he took measures to prevent the people of Lisbon from following the example; he issued a proclamation warning them against the calamities the Portuguese were plunging into; he asks them what cause they have to take up arms against an army come here to protect them? did they wish ancient Lusitania to be only a province of Spain? the French army, made more valiant by their successes, will scatter the Portuguese like the sands of the desert; those who mislead them, try to gratify their own revenge, and they care not how blood flows on the continent. If the perfidious Islanders make war in their territory he will combat them; that is the duty of his army, theirs is to remain peaceable in their fields; if they are deaf to his advice, he bids them tremble, for they will be severely punished; their new monarch is about to visit them, and he hopes he shall have to deliver him a peaceable kingdom, not ruins and dead bodies; every thing has been preserved; custom and laws, and their

The Spanish Troops made to surrender.

religion has not suffered the slightest insult ; they have but a short time to implore the Emperor ; every city, town, or place, which fires on the French troops, shall be given up to plunder, and entirely destroyed, the inhabitants put to the sword, and all those taken in arms shall be instantly shot.

He was not inactive in other respects ; he thought fit to make the Spanish troops stationed in Lisbon surrender their arms, which was done as follows :—

The Spanish soldiers were to be on parade at an early hour, when the inhabitants of Lisbon were in bed, and the city quiet, to cross the Tagus, as it was said, on their way to St. Uber ; but when they were assembled, they were surrounded by French cavalry, and ordered to ground their arms.

Having disarmed the Spaniards, he next tried to strengthen the fortifications of the city and its vicinity, and he increased his forces by calling on those at a distance.

The Junta of Oporto laboured with zeal to expel the French from Portugal, and to unite all in the provinces.

To this effect provisional Juntas were to be established like those in Spain. The first act of the Junta of Oporto was on the increase of their military force, which they thought they should be able to effect without any conscription or forced levy ; they proposed by way of encouragement, that all who should enlist within twenty days should receive the reward due to their services, and be entitled to an honourable discharge, when the state no longer required them.

Their next object was to provide funds to meet the expenses which the measures they were about to pursue would no doubt create ; they invited all loyal Portuguese

Sir Arthur Wellesley arrives with 10,000 Men.

to aid in proportion to their ability, in money, clothes, provisions, or ammunition, and they imposed some war taxes, amongst which that on the exportation of wine was thought would be most productive.

Every local arrangement being made by the Junta of Oporto, they turned towards England for what support they knew would not be refused them; the attention of England to the Prince Regent on his going to the Brazils, gave them hopes that the British would cheerfully supply their wants; they sent deputies to England, with instructions calculated to rouse the British in their favour. Sir Arthur Wellesley, with 10,000 men, sailed from Cork in July, to join the Spanish patriots; and on his arrival at Corunna was directed to go to Oporto with his force. When he reached that place he was told by the bishop, that he would do better to co-operate with Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, then off Lisbon, who had already addressed two very spirited proclamations to the people of Portugal; he endeavoured to rouse their energies by the promise of British assistance, and by referring to the opposition to their invaders which the northern provinces had begun.

Ten thousand Portuguese, it states, have risen in arms in the provinces of Oporto, Entro Minho e Douro, and part of Beira, and if the South unite they must overcome the few French who occupy the capital; but unanimity is requisite among them; let them bravely resolve to free their country and restore the lawful government; every thing the British fleet can do will be done in support of so just and honourable a cause. In a second proclamation he tells them, Deputations having arrived to him from every part of the kingdom, requesting aid and assistance, and stating the loyal determination of the

Defences of the Entrance of the Tagus.

people to establish their lawful government, and free the country from the French ; he sends, according to their request, ships, troops, arms, and ammunition, and has ordered the standard of the Prince Regent to be hoisted, round which every loyal Portuguese is invited to rally, and take up arms ; they must be unanimous in order to be successful ; they have witnessed the effect of French friendship for some months, and to British faith and assistance, and their own efforts, he trusts that they will be indebted for the restoration of their Prince and their independence.

When Sir Arthur Wellesley joined Sir Charles Cotton, he advised with him on the being able to force the entrance of the Tagus, and attack the forts about Lisbon, the principal of which is fort St. Julien ; it stands on a prominent part of the shore, on the north side as you enter the Tagus, and with the town of Bugio, defends the mouth of that river ; towards the land it presents a front of 530 feet, with a scarp wall 45 feet high, raised much above the sea defence, to cover them from a hill about 520 yards north-east from the fortress, whose summit is above the level of any of the works ; a low ravelin is before the land point ; there are galleries for counter-mines.

The river has two entrances, one between fort St. Julien and a ledge of rocks about 600 yards from it ; the other between the same rocks and a sand, where the town of Bugio is built ; the north passage is well defended as ships must pass close to the guns, and be much exposed ; this work contains souterrains for 1000 men, but the casemates are not well lined, and are hardly proof against large shells ; there is a magazine for 2000 barrels of powder, but it is said it does not keep the powder good ;

Sir Arthur Wellesley resolves to land.

there are five smaller magazines, and tanks for about 300,000 gallons of water.

From Fort St. Julien's, going towards Cascaes, there is a battery, called Fort Jonquieres, with eight guns, and, with St. Julien's, commands a fine sandy bay; there is a parapet for small arms all the way from St. Julien's, and a landing here would be almost impossible; the next is Fort Antonio, with 12 guns; it has good stores, a magazine and a cistern. There is another large fort, next in magnitude to St. Julien's, which has two batteries towards the sea; it is mounted with very heavy guns; it contains bomb-proofs for 1000 men, but heavy shells would injure them; it has barracks and two magazines; there are small batteries at certain distances along the coast, on which it is consequently difficult to land a body of men.

Such is the nature of the fortifications within the entrance of the Tagus, which, when Sir Arthur Wellesley's force arrived, were in possession of the French.

Sir Arthur could not ascertain with any precision the number of French troops in these forts. Junot's army was stated to him as being 17,000 men, of which 14,000 were in Lisbon and its neighbourhood, and the remainder at a great distance from the capital. He did not think it prudent to make a descent in any of the bays north of the Tagus, for he would expose his troops to the attack of the principal part of Junot's army, and General Spencer having joined him with 6000 men, he planned to disembark their troops in Mondego Bay; thus he would escape all opposition from the enemy, and give the Portuguese army an opportunity of uniting with him. Before he landed his men, he had advice that General Anstruther, with 5000 men, was proceeding to join him;

The British Army march to Oviedos.

and that 10,000 men, with General Moore, would be soon sent for the same purpose ; but finding that Junot had been forced to send off General Loison, with about 6000 men, to quell an insurrection in Alentego, he resolved to go on, and the British troops were landed on the 9th of August, the advanced guard marching towards Lisbon ; this was in a manner hastened by the information, that Bessieres intended to make an irruption into the north of Portugal to relieve Junot, whose situation was now daily more critical.

Sir Arthur wished to attack Junot before Bessieres could get to his assistance ; but this was in a degree delayed by a coolness between the Portuguese and English commanders ; this arose from the former demanding a supply of provisions from the British stores, which was refused, for the reason that it might subject the English troops to a scanty subsistence. The Portuguese immediately separated from the English ; and though every effort was used to unite the two armies, yet it could not be done ; Sir Arthur was even denied the reinforcement of 1600 men, which he had promised to support.

His chief plan was to attack the enemy's posts along the coasts, but in this he met no co-operation from the Portuguese ; the British army reached Lyria, and on the 15th of August their advanced guard came up with a party of the French at Oviedos ; a slight action took place, and the British were forced to retire with a trifling loss ; the French were only a picquet of infantry and a few cavalry, but they judiciously retreated to where they got reinforcements, which allowed them to make a stand ; some British riflemen, who pursued them, escaped with much difficulty from being cut off.

The British army halted at Caldas, and Sir Arthur pre-

Action between the French and English.

pared for an attack on the force under General Laborde, who still kept his position at Roleia. This place is on an eminence, with a plain in front, and a valley on the left; in the centre of the valley is the town and old Moorish fort of Oebidos. The French army was posted here in front of Roleia; their force was 6000 men, with 500 cavalry, and five pieces of cannon. The British commander determined not to delay his attack, thinking they might receive an addition in the night under General Loison, who the day before was at Rio Major. The English troops were formed into three columns, and marched from Oebidos in the morning. The French being driven from their position retreated without confusion, and formed afresh; the English having little cavalry, the French sustained but a trifling loss.

The French having taken strong grounds, the mode of attack was altered; all the strong places guarded by the French were to be carried; several corps of English were employed for this purpose; the French defended themselves desperately, and the English loss was considerable; though the French could not make a successful resistance, they however effected their retreat in good order, which has been attributed to a want of cavalry on the side of the English; the French loss in this action is not ascertained, that of the English amounted to 28 officers, and 451 non-commissioned officers and privates, killed, wounded, and missing.

The day after the battle the British army marched to Lourinha, to protect the disembarkation of the troops under General Anstruther, who had arrived at Peniche with a fleet of store-ships. Junot being informed that further reinforcements were looked for from England, resolved to make the British retire before fresh assistance

The Battle of Vimeira.

should arrive; he left Lisbon with his troops, and went on his march to Vimeira. Sir Arthur Wellesley had a fine position, but meant to march towards Mafra on the 21st, and turn the position of the French under General Loison and General Laborde, who had joined at Torres Vedras; this, however, he was prevented from following by the arrival of Sir Harry Burrard to supercede him, late on the 20th. Sir Harry wished him not to remove so far from the supplies he would require, and wished him to delay for a few days; in the mean time he remained on board to finish his despatches. Early on the 21st the French troops were seen in motion by the British centinels, in a way that left no doubt of their intended attack, and every preparation was made to meet it.

The village of Vimeira is in a valley, at the back of which is a mountain, the western point of which extends to the sea; on this mountain most of the English infantry were posted, with eight pieces of artillery, under Generals Hill and Ferguson; other dispositions were made according to the nature of the ground. When the French appeared, their intention was to attack the advanced guard and left wing of the British, from which they changed their position to meet and repel it.

The French attacked in several columns the whole British line to the south and eastward of the town, and advanced till they were checked by the bayonets of the 50th regiment; to prevent them from getting into the village, a few troops were stationed in the church-yard, and here a further engagement took place, and the French were repulsed; one column marched against the left, and another strove to break through the right wing of the British, but they were repulsed; on these points

The French are defeated.

the British had acted solely on the defensive; but General Anstruther attacked their flank, and this contest was long and desperate; the French at last gave way, leaving seven pieces of cannon, and a number of killed, wounded, and prisoners; some English cavalry pursued them, but after suffering much, being so inferior in that respect, they retired.

About the same time with what we have stated, the French attacked the English on the heights on the road to Lourinha; a large body of cavalry supported them, and they were very impetuous; Major General Ferguson's brigade received it with much coolness; on the advance of his brigade six pieces of cannon were taken from the French, with many prisoners. It is said that all the French in Portugal were in this action, under the Duke of Abrantes in person; and that the French were better provided with cavalry than the English; it is also said, that not more than half the British army was actually engaged, yet the French lost 13 pieces of cannon, 23 ammunition waggons, with powder, shells, and stores of every description, and 20,000 rounds of musket ammunition; their loss is not specified; that of the English was, in killed, wounded, and missing, 800 men.

Sir Harry Burrard arrived at the scene of action, after the dispositions had been made for the battle of Vimeira, but would not take the command; after the French were repulsed, Sir Arthur Wellesley proposed to him that his right should advance to get Torres Vedras, and that he, with the left, should pursue the retreating enemy. Sir Harry answered, that a great deal had been done, and he did not think it right to move off the ground. This was again renewed through a message from General Ferguson,

Proposals for a Convention by Junot.

urging an advance, but Sir Harry was inflexible, and the business ended.

Thanks were published in general orders, in which Sir Arthur Wellesley states the behaviour of the different corps, whom he then enumerates, and concludes with saying, what pleasure it will give him to repeat to the Commander in Chief the bravery and good conduct of the troops.

Sir Hew Dalrymple, Lieutenant Governor of Gibraltar, arrived to take the command of the British army, on the day after the battle. Just after he had joined, Junot despatched a flag of truce, with proposals for a suspension of hostilities, that a convention might be agreed on for the evacuation of the French from Portugal. An armistice was signed by General Kellerman and Sir Arthur Wellesley, which, with a letter from Sir Hew Dalrymple, was immediately sent to the British Government.

In this letter he states his arrival in Portugal, and his taking the command the day after the battle of Vimeira, where their gallantry was eminently displayed. Soon after his arrival General Kellerman came with a flag of truce, to propose a cessation of hostilities, to conclude a convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops; the articles he sends inclosed, were agreed on, and after much difficulty, the ratification exchanged; to secure time he sent orders that the buffs and 42d regiments, which were on board transports with Sir Charles Cotton's fleet, should land and take possession of the forts on the Tagus; which was done yesterday morning, when the forts of Cascaes, St. Julien's, and Bugio, were evacuated by the French troops, and occupied by ours; as he landed in Portugal unacquainted with the actual state of the French army, and many other circumstances

The People of England much dissatisfied.

of a local nature, he is in favour of expelling the French by means of the convention the French solicited, instead of waiting for that event through hostilities, as the time of year is very valuable, and the enemy might easily have protracted in the strong places they occupied. The army under Sir John Moore had not arrived, and it was doubtful whether so large a body of men could be safely landed on so open and dangerous a beach.

The articles of the armistice of arms then follow ; they are in number nine, dated the 22d of August 1808, and signed by Sir Arthur Wellesley and General Kellerman ; the lines of demarkation are marked out for the two armies, and also for the Portuguese. The French are not to be considered prisoners of war, but all who compose the army shall be conveyed to France, with their arms, baggage, and private property ; no one to be called to account for his political conduct ; their property to be protected, and to be at liberty to leave Portugal in a limited time ; the Russian fleet to be allowed to sail at its own time ; all French artillery, and the horses of the cavalry to be transported to France, and forty-eight hours notice to be given of the breaking of this armistice.

When this despatch first arrived, the English concluded that the victory gained by their army in Portugal was decisive over the French, and that no terms would be granted to the latter which should sully the bravery of the British troops. Nothing, it was thought, would be granted to the vanquished French, but such as should deprive them of the means of raising their arms during the war, and that nothing but an unconditional surrender would be accepted by the British commander in chief ; but they were so disappointed, that they thought the articles of the convention disgraceful, and highly censured

The People of England dissatisfied with the Convention.

the officers by whom it was ratified. Indeed, it was said that Junot obtained terms for a conqueror, and that the British army, double the number of the French, and flushed with success, had allowed of conditions little short of abandoning the interest of the Portuguese nation.

The people of England met in great bodies in various places, to express their disapprobation of the Convention, and to petition for an investigation into the causes of the defeat of their hopes.

The convention itself is too long to insert here ; it consists of thirty two articles, and does every thing that can be done in favour of the French ; the English were to find conveyance to France for the French army, who were to embark with all their own artillery, and sixty rounds per gun ; all their cavalry, and the horses of the staff, and other officers were likewise to be embarked, and the individuals of the army were to be allowed to dispose of any property they might please. This article the Portuguese were much displeased with, as most of what the French called their private property was plundered from the churches and convents, much regarded by them. Until the embarkation the armies were to be kept separate, a league distance being between them. The sick and wounded were left to be taken care of by the British, who were to send them to France when sufficiently recovered, by 150 or 200 at a time, France re-paying the expense at the final evacuation. The fortresses of different places to be given up to the British as soon as they can arrive to occupy them ; and the British General is to notify to them this convention, to stop all further hostilities ; all doubts to be explained in favour of the French army ; all subjects of France in Portugal to be protected, and their property ; no one to be accountable for his po-

The Portuguese Commander protests against the Convention.

litical conduct while the French had the country. The Spanish troops to be given up to the British general, and all French, not taken in battle, to be given up; an exchange of all prisoners to take place. Hostages to be given for the guarantee of the convention. The commander in chief and the principal officers of the French army to be accommodated in ships of war. There are three additional articles, which relate to the subsistence of the French army; and a separate convention was entered into by Sir Charles Cotton and Admiral Sineavin, for the surrender of the Russian fleet, which were to be delivered up to Sir Charles Cotton, to be sent to England as a deposit, and restored to his Imperial Majesty within six months after a peace between him and the King of England; the officers and sailors to return to Russia at large. This fleet consisted of nine sail of the line and a frigate, and there were 5685 men.

The Portuguese were much displeased that the French troops, with all their pillage, should be peaceably allowed to leave their country; it increased the coldness which was already between the Portuguese and British commanders, and was condemned in Portugal as well as in England. The Portuguese commander protested against it, firstly, as void of the respect due to the Prince Regent and his government; he protests against the first, fourth, and twelfth articles, because they surrender places, stores, and ships to the English, without stating that they should be given to the Prince Regent, whom the English came to aid; and against the seventeenth, because it favours those who have joined the French, and been disloyal to their Prince and country by so doing; he also alludes to the 800 horses which the French were to carry away, as they all belong to Portugal; and

The French pillage the Inhabitants of Lisbon.

the magazines, filled at the expense of the country, and consequently belonging to it.

The French practised the most shameful pillage on the inhabitants. The officers connived at, nay, it is said, lent their assistance; and it became necessary to appoint commissioners to determine what was, and what was not private property. The strongest complaints were urged by the inhabitants of Lisbon; the English commanders were called on to interpose their authority, as it was evident that Junot connived at their disgraceful behaviour; a committee was appointed to regulate what should be considered private property and what plunder; and the first division of the French army was forbid to sail till they had restored what had been unjustly taken away from individuals, the royal palace, and other public buildings.

The commissioners issued a proclamation, stating that any purchase made of articles taken from the public stores since the 30th of August, should be null and void; but all contributions levied by the French before that day were valid. The commissioners could also set aside all surreptitious sales of public property, but their power did not extend further.

The Spanish troops who were on board some vessels in the Tagus, had their arms restored to them by the English; this was done by General Beresford, in presence of the British and Portuguese troops, with much magnificence, and the officers and soldiers pronounced an oath to devote them to the re-establishment of Ferdinand.

The Portuguese were much disunited about forming a government, after the French left Portugal; when they took possession of Lisbon they dissolved the regency appointed on the departure of the Prince, and some of those

The Park and Tower Guns fired for the Victory of Vimeira.

who composed it united with the enemy. The British commander, however, named a regency, and this gave great disgust. The friends of France were numerous in Lisbon, and ready to oppose whatever might come from the British for the benefit of the Prince.

The truth is, the English commanders little knew how to act, the Portuguese were so divided; to prevent disturbances, no one was allowed to wear arms in the streets; all the small inns were to be shut at six o'clock in the evening, and not opened before sun-rise; and these orders, strange to say, were issued by the British commander.

The people of England were no less dissatisfied with the convention, which stripped them of all the renown their troops had gained at the battle of Vimeira; when the news arrived in London the Park and Tower guns announced it, though at night; but when it was known that the enemy had a safe passport granted them to return home with their arms and plunder, the public was deeply incensed; the general opinion was much divided as to which of the commanders most blame should be attached; many were the surmises on all sides.

The city of London called a Common Council to address his Majesty with their complaints, and voted an address, in which they express their grief and astonishment at the disgraceful convention in Portugal; they entreat he will institute an enquiry into this dishonourable transaction, and punish those by whose misconduct the country and its allies have been sacrificed.

His Majesty answered, that he gives them credit for the motives which dictated their petition, but he must remind them, that British justice does not pronounce judgment without investigation; he is at all times ready

Meetings held throughout England.

to institute inquiries on national occasions, and the interposition of the city of London could not be necessary to induce him to enquire into a circumstance which has disappointed the nation. This answer did not please the citizens of London, it was considered the sentiments of the ministers, and excited much discontent.

The address of the city of London was only to obtain a judicial enquiry; the Common Council did not pronounce judgment, they merely gave their opinion, and every person in the kingdom had formed an opinion on the matter; yet his Majesty seemed to censure their address as an improper interference, to dictate to him the necessity of an immediate enquiry, which he was already disposed to make. The Common Council had a meeting soon after, where the business was warmly debated, and a long string of resolutions were put by one of the members, stating their dissention to the convention, and enlarging upon his Majesty's answer to their petition.

Meetings were held in different counties and cities of England, all to the same effect, expressing the disapprobation of the people to the convention, and their surprize at his Majesty's answer, which they thought threw a kind of complaint against the petitioners; yet, unpopular as was the convention the ministers were very slow in making the promised enquiry.

However, when Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Arthur Wellesley came to England, an investigation was began by means of a court of enquiry; many objections were urged against this, as an unknown tribunal in the laws of England; it could not examine witnesses on oath, nor were the members sworn; it was thought that much delay would occur, and nothing be fairly examined without partiality; such a court could not possess the confi-

Board of Enquiry held at Chelsea.

dence of the people, and by many it was considered a mockery of their complaints, it was therefore looked on inadequate to legal disquisition ; the public shewed their disapprobation of a board of enquiry for a court martial, as the same means were not given to find out the truth or punish the guilty ; and, indeed, it was thought not a little odd that such a court should be appointed to satisfy the public, who were all against its illegal formation ; yet it met at Chelsea on the 14th of November, and being formed without any formality the King's warrant was read by the Judge Advocate.

This stated that his Majesty had appointed Sir Hew Dalrymple to command the British forces on the coasts of Spain and Portugal, and that an armistice and convention having been agreed on under his sanction, his Majesty thought that an enquiry should be made into the causes which led to them, and into the conduct and proceedings of Lieutenant-General Sir Hew Dalrymple, or other officers, who were answerable as the commanders in chief of the British troops in Portugal, in so much as they were connected with the said armistice and convention ; the Board were to hear all persons on evidence as to those matters, and to report their opinion thereon ; and to declare what other proceedings ought to be instituted.

The Judge Advocate opened the business by reading letters from Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Arthur Wellesley, stating their wish to meet enquiry, and begging that evidence might be brought into court. Sir Hew addressed the court, and said he wished to say a few words in vindication of himself ; he pledged himself, that Sir Harry Burrard, Sir Arthur Wellesley, and himself, were present with General Kellerman when the preliminaries of the convention were settled. Sir Arthur Wel-

The Board make their Report.

lesley had that prominent part in the discussion, to which the important situation he held, the glorious victory he had lately gained, and the information, chiefly of a local nature, which he possessed, gave him a right to assume ; and that Sir Arthur signed the preliminaries without any order from him ; he was happy to meet a court like the present, where the trammels of legal proceedings could not check him.

Sir Arthur Wellesley allowed that he had signed the preliminaries at the desire of the commander in chief, but not from any command ; he had agreed on the principle of the articles though he differed in some details.

Sir Harry Burrard defended the principles of the convention ; he admitted that Sir Arthur Wellesley wished to pursue the enemy when they retreated, after the battle of Vimeira, but he did not think it prudent or adviseable, as Sir Arthur had stated to him the difficulties the British army laboured under from the want of cavalry, and the danger of removing them to any great distance from the victualling ships. On this he thought the British army should halt ; the French were far superior in cavalry, and as they got nearer Lisbon they would be nearer their resources ; and if the English were checked the consequences might have been dreadful. From what ideas he had formed he thought then, and thinks now, that his wish not to pursue the enemy was right.

The report of the court was given to his Majesty, but ministers not thinking it embraced all that was submitted to their examination, it was ordered to assemble again. The necessity, however, of the convention has been much admitted by all those who had any hand in furthering it ; but we shall not enter on this subject, which has been so much discussed throughout the British empire.

Bonaparte meets the Legislative Body.

CHAPTER CX.

WHEN the French evacuated Portugal Bonaparte began to think of investing it with a more powerful army than that which had been taken from it under the Duke of Abrantes. To see the eagles of his legions brought to France in British ships, and under a British flag, looked more like victory than a defeat; he had good reason to exult in a convention which gave him the advantages of a conquest; and he was not inattentive to the means allowed him to prosecute the war in Spain and Portugal with energy.

He went in great state in October, to the palace of the Legislative Body, which he addressed in a gracious speech.

He tells them that the people have already experienced the most salutary effects from the code of laws they have formed; their system of finance is improved, and they never will be reduced to paper money, loans, or anticipations of revenue; he has laid out more than 1000 miles of road, and public works will be carried on with zeal; the peace of Presburg, that of Tilsit, the assault of Copenhagen, the plans of England on the ocean, the different revolutions at Constantinople, and the affairs of Spain and Portugal, have in various ways influenced the affairs of the world; Russia and Denmark have united with him against England; the United States of America

Speech of the Legislative Body.

have abandoned commerce rather than own their slavery. In a few days he will put himself at the head of his army, to crown the King of Spain at Madrid. The Emperor of Russia and Napoleon have had a meeting at Erfurth; they have resolved to make some sacrifices, but they are united for peace or war.

His speech caused lively emotion, and the sitting was closed under loud shouts of Long live the Emperor! and the same took place in the streets through which he passed. At noon, on the 28th of October, seated on his throne, surrounded by the great officers of state, the ministers, members of the senate, and council of state, he received a deputation of the legislative body, at the palace of the Thuilleries; on being admitted to the foot of the throne, the president, his Excellency the Count de Fontanes, pronounced an address; this extols all his actions in the highest stile of praise; it calls him every thing that is great, and attributes all their happiness to him; they regret his going to join his army, but they are confident that victory follows him, and all the soldiers of France swear on their swords to watch round his glorious head and life; the hand that has raised him to the summit of human grandeur, will not abandon him, nor France, nor Europe, which yet for a long time stands in need of him.

His answer was very short; he thanks them, and says, his duty and inclination lead him to share the dangers of his soldiers, but he will soon return; he minds not fatigues when they contribute to insure the glory of France.

We will just take a glance at the internal administration of the public affairs of the French empire, and of those regulations that mark the reign of Napoleon among his

The religious Order improved.

own subjects; and we cannot but admire that policy which protects national improvements to promote national prosperity.

The paper under the head Internal Administration, recapitulates the principal part of what has been done in France by the Emperor; his Majesty, it says, visits the departments every year, and views and judges the state of countries, establishments of every description, manufactories, &c.; he has travelled in the present year beyond the Alps, and every where he stepped retraced some illustrious action on his memory. In Italy he saw the first theatre of his glory; in Piedmont and Germany he traversed the fields of Marengo and Jena; he saw every where useful institutions and works, which claimed the blessings of the people, who were full of gratitude; Bourdeaux, Bayonne, Toulouse, and Nantes, recollect his residence with lively transports, and Mentz constantly displays the same joy. The cities of Wesel and Flushing are united to the empire. The acquisitions have less the increase of territory for their object, than the advantages of a more powerful frontier, and a great extension of shore, with a number of ports.

The want of ministers of the altar has caused the notice of government to be led that way; but they have added, and the number is now 30,000, united to 330,051 curates, they will amply take care of the spiritual wants of the catholic church; 8000 purses of 400 franks each, and 1600 semi-purses have been distributed in the seminaries of France, to favour the education of those doomed to an ecclesiastical life; thus the religious establishment is completed. Great attention has been paid to public instruction; eight new Lyceums have been established, and 1200 new scholars invited to share the advantages of a

gratuitous education. The theatres have been properly regulated ; a pernicious competition has diminished, and carried to other quarters formerly destitute of them, the sources of a useful amusement. Medicine, surgery, and Pharmacy, have had new succours ; schools for the theory and practice have opened in Angers, Caen, Marseilles, Nantz, Bourdeaux, Rheims, and Dijon ; and the officers of health, and the midwives, will receive certain and solid instruction. Further privileges were extended to the Jews, in France, and other places subject to the French Emperor. The Jews of Westphalia met at Cassel to testify their allegiance to King Jerome ; the deputation having addressed his Majesty, expressing their loyalty and affection, he was pleased to answer them, that he was satisfied with their loyalty and attachment ; he wishes the freedom of all religions ; the law should interrupt no man in the exercise of his worship ; in that respect each subject is as much at liberty as the King ; the laws can only regulate the duties of the citizens.

The Imperial decrees of March were relaxed in favour of the Jews of the departments against which they were principally to act.

Every 2000 Jews were to form a synagogue, but only one consistorial synagogue to be in each department ; the consistory is to look over rabbies, and see that they teach according to the great Sanhedrim ; they are to give information about the Jewish conscripts of their districts. Every Jew anxious to settle in France must give three months notice. A central consistory to be at Paris, each consistory to have a grand rabbi elected by 25 notables, who are to receive from 1 to 6000 francs per annum. All obligations for loans made by Jews to minors, without

All Distinctions between Jew and Christian removed.

the sanction of their guardians, to married women, unknown to their husbands, and to military men, without the authority of their superior officers, were annulled. Bills granted to Jews cannot be demanded, unless full value can be proved to have been given. No Jew to trade without a patent, which must be renewed annually. In several parts of the empire Jews were not to settle without they abandoned commerce, and bought rural property. None of the conscription to be allowed to find substitutes, but must perform personal service. These regulations, and many others of a like nature, to be in force for ten years; but many have since been rescinded.

All the restrictions which separated them from the other inhabitants, have been removed in East Friesland and Fulda, and all distinctions between Jews and Christians, as to privileges, are declared to be at an end, and that they shall be looked on as real citizens and inhabitants, government being desirous to remove all distinction between Jews and Christians.

The French Exposé gives the description of the present war in an enlightened manner.

It says, that England still repeats the cry of war, and war continues, whose object is the slavery of the world, by the sole possession of the seas; repose may be obtained, but it would be death; the choice between submission and resistance cannot be doubtful. England holds Europe in a perpetual agitation, and excites all the envious passions against France; she has extended her colonies and increased her naval power, and hopes to enjoy the sole possession of the seas. Till lately she had some respect to the law of nations, but this conduct does no

longer suit her ; those not in her interest are her enemies ; neutrality is a revolt, and all who resist her are made subject to her ravages.

Fortune, however, has raised up a man of a superior order, to repel the evils with which England threatens the world ; the genius of the Emperor has not overlooked the danger of her commerce, which he has not ceased to repel from his states ; he has effectually resisted it ; there can be no deception on this head ; all the ports of the continent are in a state of blockade, and the ocean is as it were forbidden to those neutral ships, who will not pay to the British a tribute which they mean to impose on the population of the world.

France has agreed in the exclusion of the monopoly of commerce ; some branches of her industry have suffered ; her allies, and the United States, like her, sacrifice their conveniencies. England was on the point of being expelled from the continent, but she took advantage of the late circumstances in Spain, and spread her evil genius over that country ; she has even supported the Inquisition ; but Spain will feel ere long the fatal effects of her connection with England. Austria has armed, but without any hostile intention ; 100,000 of the grand army leave the Prussian states for the camp at Boulogne ; the battalions gone to Spain will be replaced on the Elbe and the Rhine ; those which quelled Italy return to their former destination. Such is the external state of France. Much has been done in the interior to excite the gratitude of the people ; creation of titles of nobility have surrounded the throne with new splendour ; it creates a praiseworthy emulation, and records the most illustrious services, paid by the most honourable rewards. The

A triumphal Column to be raised to Bonaparte.

clergy are distinguished by their attachment to the country, their sovereign, and their duties; all ranks in the nation feel the sentiments of admiration for the sovereign, and wish Heaven to watch over his days; his only ambition is that of the happiness and glory of France.

When this oration was done, the president of the legislative body pronounced an eulogy on the splendid qualities of Bonaparte; he began by saying, they had painted the Prince's greatness by re-tracing the good he had done, and that the annual pictures of his administration will one day be the chief monument of his reign; that sovereign is not happy, who is great only at the head of his armies; happy is he who knows how to conquer as well as to govern, who busies himself with useful works, and whose careful hand sews the seeds of public felicity; in the fields of Marengo and of Jena the first of Kings has meditated the happiness of nations; all ideas of public order have accompanied him in his tent; he has founded more than others have destroyed.

A column has been elevated in one of the most magnificent of our squares; on the bronzes which are to cover this our exploits will be engraven; victory will point to Italy twice subdued; to Vienna, to Berlin and Warsaw, opening their gates. Frenchmen will view this monument with pride. Let there be engraven on it these memorable words, "I have felt, that in order to be happy it was necessary for me first to be assured of the happiness of France."

This triumphal arch will be ever beheld with emotions of love. Here every heart will praise him who was the author of so much good; let us render our homage by wishing that his talents as a warrior may become use-

Bonaparte received at Erfurth with great Respect.

less; he will always find within himself our springs of greatness; his renown as a conqueror will be but the weakest part of his glory.

The meeting at Erfurth between the sovereigns of France and Russia, was said to have for its object the restoration of a general peace to Europe.

The calamities of war might, indeed, have induced even Napoleon to wish for peace, who, from the time he first succeeded to the throne of France till the present day, had reigned only amid tumults.

When he arrived at Erfurth the greatest respect was shewn him; he was met at the gate of the town by the commandant and deputies from the public bodies, who presented an address to him full of sentiments of attachment to his person and government; having perused it and expressed his satisfaction, he entered the town, and alighted from his horse at the hotel prepared for his reception; he soon after visited the King of Saxony, who had arrived the day before; he inspected the troops there, and rode on the road to Weimar to meet the Emperor of Russia; the two Monarchs entered the town on horseback, escorted by numbers of persons of the first rank, two regiments of horse, and two regiments of foot; the town was illuminated at night, and the sum said to be circulated in the town and its neighbourhood on this occasion, is estimated at about 250,000*l.* sterling; the Emperors paid for their apartments each 50 Louis d'ors a-day.

But little is known of what took place between these Sovereigns at Erfurth, though one cannot doubt but that Bonaparte meant to concert with Alexander, to procure a peace with England, or make her armies quit Spain and

Messengers sent from Erfurth to England.

Portugal ; the attitude of Austria also at this time, served to influence him in this measure, as likely to counteract the hostile designs which that power seemed to threaten him with ; he succeeded in this, for the Austrian cabinet despatched Baron Vincent on an extra mission to Erfurth ; he had interviews with both Sovereigns ; what passed is not known, but it is probable he satisfied Bonaparte that his master would continue neutral, and that his preparations were not against France or her allies. It is plain he wrought on the Emperor of Russia to become a party to propose peace to England ; for when the Imperial conference ended, a Russian and French messenger was sent to England, with pacific offers to the British cabinet. We confess we cannot determine from what this offer was made, except the wish to restore peace to Europe ; other causes have been assigned for it, as if it was meant to be rejected, and prolong the calamities of war. It was looked on by some as being made to prevent England from sending more succours to Spain, and thus making the resistance of the patriots more ineffectual to the French arms. The politicians of Britain agreed, that no terms would be listened to by the Court of St. James's that did not include the deliverance of Spain from French troops, and the restoration of her sovereign. Any thing short of this would only tarnish the British character, and humble it before those whose battles they were then so warmly fighting ; they could not abandon the cause of Spain ; and though they wished to accept the offered negotiation, yet they could not avail themselves of the offer of peace if it was not equally extended to their allies ; these overtures were therefore rejected by his Britannic Majesty, who answered them in a royal declaration.

Reply of the King of England to the Overtures.

This stated, that the overtures made to his Majesty by Russia and France have not led to negociation, and he thinks right to make known its termination.

The appearance of a negociation might enable France to sow jealousy in the councils of those who are combined to resist her oppressions.

His Majesty could scarcely believe that the Emperor of Russia would openly abet the usurpation of the Spanish monarchy, and acknowledge and maintain the right assumed by France to depose and imprison friendly sovereigns, and forcibly transfer to herself the allegiance of independent nations. When a negociation for a general peace was proposed in concert with his Majesty's allies, and to treat with honour, justice, and equality, he determined to meet it with a sincere fairness and moderation; he thought it necessary to declare, that the engagements he had contracted with Spain were sacred and binding, and expressed his just confidence, that the government of Spain, acting in the name of his catholic Majesty Ferdinand the VIIth. was to be a party of the negociation.

The reply of France at once throws off the thin disguise, and displays the injustice of that government; the universal Spanish nation is described by the degrading appellation of "The Spanish Insurgents!" and the admitting the Government of Spain a party to any negociation is rejected as inadmissible.

With grief and astonishment his Majesty has found the Emperor of Russia reply to the same effect; he also stigmatises as "insurrection" the glorious efforts of the Spanish people, thus giving his sanction to an usurpation unequalled in history.

His Majesty would gladly have embraced any negocia-

tion which might have given a hope of peace ; but neither his own honour, nor the generosity of the British nation would admit his commencing a negociation by abandoning a brave and loyal people, struggling for all that is dear to man, and whose exertions he is pledged to sustain.

A new system shewed itself in France during that year, under the title of Naval Projects. It begins with,

“ The whole coast of the Mediterranean sea must form a part of the French territory of the great empire.” It then goes on to state the different places which must be united to France ; the commerce of the Mediterranean must be under the influence of France ; Leghorn requires to be made a part of the empire ; the kingdom of Naples constitutes a distinct kingdom, subject, however, to the same state policy.

Leghorn has constantly given reason of complaint to France ; it frequently became necessary for French troops to enter Leghorn, to confiscate the English merchandize there ; since she cannot at the same time be under the influence of France and England, she must become a part of France. Spezzia shall be a military port, and before the end of the present year, six ships of two or three decks shall be on the stocks ; Spezzia shall be a second Toulon in the Mediterranean. France and the continent have the same interest in the prosperity of the new maritime department of Spezzia. The incorporation of Tuscany is a consequence of that grand plan.

Tuscany is also interested in this union ; under its little Princes it was governed without system, and was always infested by the Barbary powers ; there must be a certain rule. The time is passed, in which it was believed, “ that people were made for kings, not kings for people.” Lands

Tuscany united to France.

and forests may become property, but no person can possess a kingdom, as if it were a farm. All on the coast of the Adriatic must be united with the kingdom of Italy. Ancona will be the harbour, and Venice the naval arsenal of that sea. French squadrons are forming every where; Flushing and Antwerp have a fleet of thirty sail, and on the coast of Britany there will be still more. We have the allied Russian squadron at Lisbon, where there are also several new ships of the line in the best state. The dock yards at Cadiz, Ferrol, and Carthagená, have felt the change in Spain. We must have ships, and there is no deficiency of materials for building them.

A decree was passed for uniting Tuscany to the French empire; it unites the dukedoms of Parma and Placentia to France, under the name of the department of the Turo; the states of Tuscany are united by the name of the department of the Arno, the department of the Mediterranean, and of the Ombrona; they are to send eighteen members to the Legislative body.

An expedition was fitted out at Naples, commanded by General Lamarque, with several distinguished officers of the French army, against the island of Capri, which was for near three months in the possession of the English; when they arrived at Capri, from the roughness of the sea, the French had some difficulty in landing, and the English could better defend themselves.

A lively fire from the British did not, however, prevent the disembarkation of the French troops; the royal grenadiers and Corsican chasseurs first landed; they were followed by their comrades, who after landing found other difficulties; they were of necessity obliged to make themselves masters of the heights of Anacupri, which command the island and all its forts. The French sol-

The French attack the Island of Capri.

diers climbed up almost impracticable ways, intersected by intrenchments, and defended by two battalions of the royal Maltese regiment, who were made prisoners, and taken to Naples. When the French took possession of the place, the English commander united his forces in the ports of St. Michael, and keeping his communication with the sea open, and expecting reinforcements; this made the lower part of the island very important, but the communication between Upper and Lower Capri could only be secured by the possession of a flight of steps cut in the rock, where only one person could pass at a time, and this was defended by fort St. Michael, yet the French, covered by the night, descended this passage. The succour expected from England was now on the coast; it was four frigates, two corvettes, four bomb vessels, fourteen gun-boats, and nine transports; by blockading the island they hoped to defeat the plan of the French, and cut off their supply of provisions and ammunition.

Some vessels were ordered to attack the British squadron, who were obliged to keep a long way off the shore from the sands; the combat was sharp but successful, and the English were mortified to see forty transports arrive at the island, and all their freight safely landed. The English were forced to surrender to the French arms, though it is highly honourable to the former to declare, that they acted in a most gallant manner. The taking of this island gave the French great joy, as it was effected as well by their marine as their land forces.

We will now return to Bonaparte. On the 4th of November he left Bayonne to take on him the direction of his army in Spain; he wished to undertake this journey *incog.* but he was soon found out by his subjects, who greeted him every where with cries of, “Long live Na-

poleon !” He had sent great reinforcements to the frontiers of Spain before he left Paris, that he might be able the more speedily to conquer the country, and crown his brother Joseph at Madrid, as its Sovereign. He brought with him to Vittoria about 12,000 men ; before his arrival the French head-quarters were fixed at Vittoria ; the Duke of Cornegliano with his corps was at Rafulla, his left wing being along the banks of the Arragon and the Ebro ; the Duke of Echlingen’s division was at Guardia ; the Duke of Istria at Miranda, and a part of his division constituted the garrison of fort Pancuba ; the division of General Merlin occupied the heights of Durango, and defended the heights of Mondragon from the Spaniards. The centre army of the patriots, under Castanos, left its position on the Ebro, and was on the left bank of the smaller river Alagon, extending from Villafranca to Sanguess ; the intent of this position was to form a barrier between the French at Navarre, and those in the citadel of Barcelona, to cover Arragon, and prevent any attempt to get to Madrid. Castanos was enabled by this position to rest his right wing on the left wing of Palafox’s army, while they jointly kept a strong position on the left wing of the French. Blake’s army in Biscay was on the right wing of the French ; that of Estramadura, with what was expected from England, under Sir John Moore and Sir David Baird, opposed the French. Before the Marquis de Romagna joined Blake, his army was calculated at 23,000 men ; that of Castanos and Palafox joined, at near 60,000, and that of Estramadura at 20,000 men. Such were the French and Spanish forces a few days before Bonaparte arrived in Spain. Before, however, he reached Vittoria, several gallant actions were fought by his generals and the Spaniards, who, under

The Prince of Peace faithless to his Sovereign.

Blake were totally routed. We do not mean to detail the military events that followed these actions; our design is to conclude with general reflections on the conduct of the French Monarch about his attack on Spain, and his resolution to conquer that country, which we think will prove agreeable to our readers.

Under her new dynasty Spain could never have kept at peace with France; Charles and his successors would never pass an opportunity to avenge the blood of the Bourbons shed in France, which the dignity of the ancient crown of Spain was so nearly allied to. This was in itself enough to urge the active jealousy of Bonaparte, who, aware of the hatred of the court of Madrid to his person and government, could not help shewing at times his suspicion of its hostile views, against which he had resolved to be prepared. It is well known, that every thing was resorted to, to weaken the bonds of union of the two countries. The monks and priests of Spain, actuated by their blind rage, were eternally invoking their saints to throw destruction on the French Monarch's head; their zeal, it is true, gave them but little glory, though their phrenzy was not in the least diminished through want of success. How weak must that government be whose chief power is in the hands of their priests! who rely more on their prayers, and on miracles, for national happiness, than the energies of a bold and virtuous patriotism. Don Manuel Godoy, as we before observed, was the principal director of that state machine, the King's veto; who, more intent on peculation than on public welfare, abused his Sovereign's confidence, while his own wretched conduct hastened the kingdom's downfall; ever ready to catch hold of any popular dissension that could add strength to his empire, Bonaparte thought

Remarks on the Spanish Royal Family.

this a good opportunity to settle the fate of the Sovereign and his favourite ; by seeming to take part with one he quarrelled with both, and by that means got an abdication of a crown in his favour, which had lately given little personal dignity, or public utility to its wearer ; yet the fate of Charles and Ferdinand may claim some compassion, although it cannot excite our surprise. The Spanish nation may be indignant at the state of their Sovereigns, but they have been reduced to it, not more by the treachery of Napoleon, than by the perfidy of their own ministers, and the dissolute principles which shed themselves throughout the public affairs in the kingdom ; nor can the disgraceful amours of the Queen be overlooked ; her scandalous intimacy with Godoy has been punished, and justly, both in his desertion of her, and by the contempt she has since been exposed to in her present retreat ; we cannot therefore blame Napoleon for seeking to renovate a government which was its own ruin, although it may be asked if the renovation he seeks is agreeable to the people of Spain. We shall only observe, that the patriots' cause does not at present seem to involve the cause of their exiled Sovereigns ; neither Charles nor Ferdinand appear to raise any very strong desire on the part of their subjects, that the kingly duties should be resumed by them, as both have shewn their incapacity to govern ; yet the patriots would prefer even those to any sovereign Napoleon would give them ; particularly if that sovereign were of his own family, or in any manner under him.

Though we are enemies to that fulsome idea, which seeks on every turn to idolize the person and deeds of the ruler of France, yet we must allow him praise as a war-

Bonaparte's Greatness allowed.

rior and a statesman ; his great talents, and greater success, have raised him to an eminence seldom reached by the heroes of antiquity ; his strong mind has upheld him in the midst of dangers and difficulties ; and has thrown such a light over his actions as makes him an object of admiration, even to those who otherwise disapprove both himself and his system.

He is not more remarkable as the projector of revolutions than he is the founder of national improvements ; there is no form of government on the continent which has not experienced his wholesome correction, or submitted its fate to his direction. He has given many useful lessons to sovereigns, by shewing them the way to secure the affections and loyalty of their subjects, which he is an example of in the great empire over which he rules ; but he has his vices ; his great thirst of fame must occasionally sink him to acts of injustice ; and we must lament that his love for *universal empire* must, notwithstanding what he has already gained, be as ardent as ever.

Conclusion.

CHAPTER CXI.

AMONG the various passions that seem to have ruled Bonaparte, ambition appears the leading one ; it seems to have guided all his actions from his first career in life. In the different histories we read, we scarcely find his parallel. He is allowed on all occasions to evince much bravery, and many of his actions are transferred to posterity, namely, those of Maréngo, Austerlitz, Lodi, and Jena ; yet several French officers of undoubted gallantry, who were at these places, do not attribute to him all that has been written by others.

It may be observed that he has had but an indifferent education, yet he has shewn uncommon abilities. As a warrior he is without an equal ; his plans have almost universally succeeded, and he has raised France to the rank of one of the first powers of Europe. Tired of the massacres of their dreadful revolution, the French will not venture to repeat those scenes from which they have suffered so severely ; they appear satisfied with their present state, and indicate no further wish for change.

How great the alteration a few years make in the affairs of men ! How short the period since we beheld the Bourbons seated on the throne of France, and apparently surrounded with the cordial affections of the people ! What a fatal reverse have we witnessed ! Their King, seemingly so idolized by his subjects, overwhelmed

Conclusion.

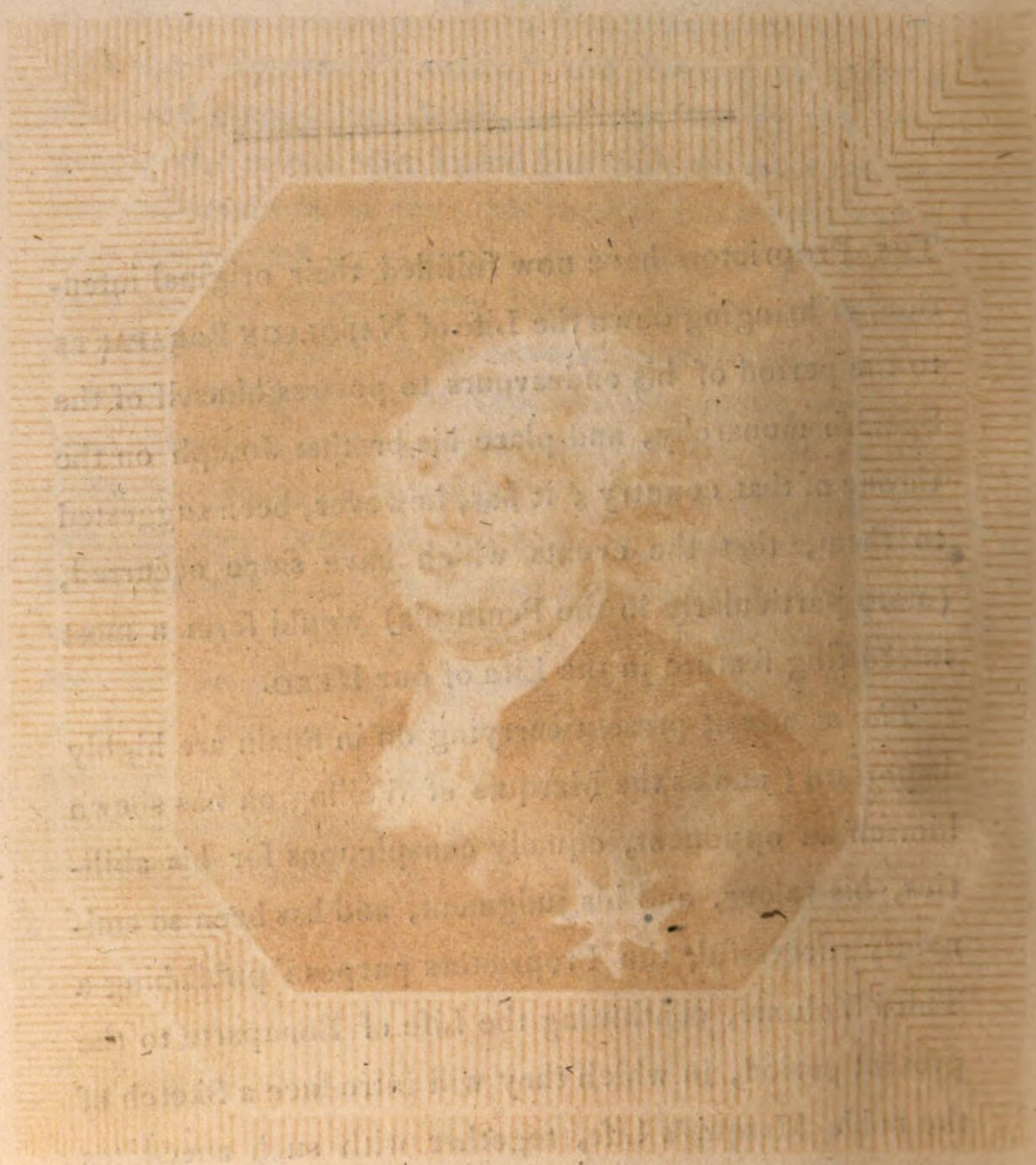
with the “oppressor’s wrong,” and doomed to suffer a cruel and ignominious death; and that too by the very people who at one time hailed him with the most rapturous exclamations of joy; his throne destroyed, and a new one erected on its ruins by a man of yesterday; such are the events of the French revolution, though its effects may reach to the remotest generations.

In describing the life of Napoleon Bonaparte, we have been careful to avoid any reflections of our own on the different affairs connected with it; we have given the facts as they occurred, without any comments, and leave the reader to form his own opinion on the character of the man we have portrayed. Many of his actions may not be generally approved; indeed, we know that some of them have been very severely and very justly animadverted upon. But we thought it best to avoid all appearance of prejudice or partiality, and let every person judge for himself.

THE END.

THE Proprietors have now fulfilled their original intention, of bringing down the Life of NAPOLEON BONAPARTE to the period of his endeavours to possess himself of the Spanish monarchy, and place his brother Joseph on the throne of that country ; it has, however, been suggested to them, that the events which have since occurred, (more particularly in the Peninsula) would form a most interesting feature in the Life of our HERO.

The scenes at present carrying on in Spain are highly important ; and as the Marquis of Wellington has shewn himself an opponent, equally conspicuous for his abilities, his valour, and his judgment, and has been so eminently successful, the Proprietors purpose publishing a Third Volume, continuing the Life of Bonaparte to the present period, in which they will introduce a Sketch of the noble Marquis's Life, together with such anecdotes concerning him as will be found amusing and interesting.



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Late King of France.



AT 10.1
to 10.1



MARIA ANTOINETTE
Late Queen of France

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Heweston, W. B.

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